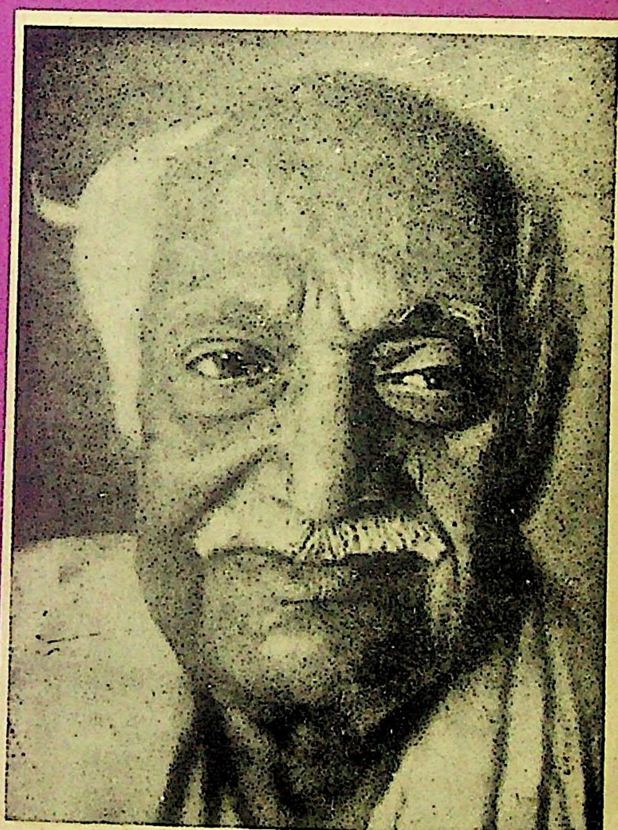


Mahamahopadhyaya

Gopinath Kaviraj

G. C. Pande

Makers of Indian Literature



Mahamahopadhyaya Gopinath Kaviraj

The sculpture reproduced on the endpaper depicts a scene where three soothsayers are interpreting to King Suddhodana the dream of Queen Maya, mother of Lord Buddha. Below them is seated a scribe recording the interpretation. This is perhaps the earliest available pictorial record of the art of writing in India.

From Nagarjunakonda, 2nd century A.D.

Courtesy : National Museum, New Delhi.

MAKERS OF INDIAN LITERATURE

Mahamahopadhyaya Gopinath Kaviraj

G. C. Pande



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Preface

After having accepted the task of producing a small monograph on Gopinath Kaviraj at the behest of the Sahitya Akademi, I felt daunted by the magnitude of the task for a long time. As is well known, the vastness of Kaviraj's erudition, the depth of his thought, the compact abstruseness of his style and the sublime nobility and richness of his personality would make it difficult for anyone to give a satisfactory account of his life, thought and writings. To do so briefly and within a short period of time would be well nigh impossible. That despite near despair, I persisted with the effort has been due entirely to my faith in the grace of Kaviraj himself who was not only my teacher's teacher but a saint of the highest and rarest order with whom I had the good fortune of associating from time to time.

However, what I present to the readers in the following pages lays no claim to comprehensiveness or adequacy. It is not merely the intellectual difficulty of Kaviraj's thought and style which makes him unapproachable to the common reader and scholar but the fact of his writings and talks being only partly published adds greatly to the difficulty of writing about him with any degree of authority in the present stage of research. From this point of view it may be stated that the greatest difficulties are presented by the topic of 'Akhaṇḍa Mahāyoga'. My account of the idea derives mainly from its exposition by Kaviraj in his Bengali work entitled *Akhaṇḍa Mahāyoga*, though I have also consulted his later expositions.

My account of Kaviraj's ideas is, thus, unavoidably inadequate. I have only attempted to place some of his salient ideas in a historical perspective seeking to bring out their contemporary relevance. If it whets the appetite of some readers and leads them to study the works of Kaviraj, my effort would be amply rewarded.

As for Kaviraj's life I have contented myself with a short sketch. For those who are interested, the Hindi work of Dr. B. P. Singh will provide more material. Actually, Kaviraj's life was too full of spiritual adventure within for 'social' adventure without to find room in it. He was untouched by worldly ambitions and faced worldly suffering with rare fortitude.

My thanks are due to the Sahitya Akademi for enabling me to engage in this work.

While offering this modest monograph to my readers I must apologize in advance for its shortcomings:

Nacātrātīva kartavyaṁ doṣa-dṛṣṭi-paraṁ manaḥ

G. C. Pande

1

Life and Personality

During the mediaeval period Bengal, especially East Bengal, (now Bangladesh) was noted for its devotionalism, esoterism and scholasticism. It took the lead in the Indian Renaissance of the nineteenth century and produced a memorable galaxy of saints and savants, scholars and educationists, statesmen and revolutionaries. In the midst of colonial rule and its attendant process of deracination, they helped to revive India's sense of pride in her own past and sought to fuse it with the best aspects of British liberalism and a deep sense of human unity. It is through them and others like them in other parts of India that her new national liberal consciousness was fashioned. It meant not only the emergence of a political movement aiming at the liberation of the country but also a revolution in its thought and creativity. Gopinath Kaviraj was one of the towering figures in this revolution.

He was born at Dhamrai in Bangladesh on the 7th of September, 1887. His father Sri Vaikunthanatha had died just five months before Gopinath was born, while still preparing for his M.A. examination. He had been an exceptionally brilliant student and was the class mate of Narendranath (later, Vivekananda) and Brajendra Nath Seal. Vaikunthanatha himself had lost his father Sri Chandranatha, while still a child and had been brought up by an affectionate maternal uncle, Sri Kalachandra Sanyal of the village Kanthalia which lay at a short distance from Danya, the ancestral village of the 'Kaviraj' family in the district of Mymensingh now in Bangladesh. The care of young Gopinath also, thus, fell to the lot of Sri Kalachandra. Gopinath's mother Sukhada Sundari and

virtual foster grandmother Bama Sundari provided him with maternal love and care. He was brought up in an atmosphere of fervent Vaiṣṇava piety, moral simplicity and high-minded Sanskrit learning.

His early schooling was at the primary school in Kanthalia whence he shifted to Dhamrai and studied there till Class VIII. He had commenced the study of traditional Sanskrit grammar even while he was at Kanthalia and continued it assiduously at Dhamrai under the guidance of eminent *pandits*. He also studied English with great zeal and had acquired a remarkably extensive vocabulary by the time he reached the eighth class. As a result of meticulous linguistic studies he could browse freely through Sanskrit, Bengali and English literatures and indeed, composed remarkable poems in Bengali and English in a more or less romantic vein. The lonely quest of the soul is already a prominent theme for his meditations. "In th' stream of life alone I sail." "Alone in Th' light of stars I saw around."

From Dhamrai Gopinath moved to Dacca and joined the K.L. Jubilee High School after passing class VIII. Meanwhile the fortunes of the family had suffered a crippling blow by the death of Kalachandra Sanyal. The family estate too was taken over by rival claimants and Gopinath's mother moved to the place of Pt. Kartik Shankar, who was the uncle of her daughter-in-law Kusum Kamini Devi, Gopinath's young wife. Through the intercession of friends and well wishers Gopinath was able to get a studentship and a meagre stipend which enabled him to study at Dacca. He studied avidly Sanskrit as well as English, and passed the Entrance Examination in the First Division in 1905. Ill health prevented him from continuing his studies for a year after which he proceeded to Jaipur for his college studies and joined the Maharaja College where his name is still enshrined in the roll of honours.

The problem of financial support cropped up here too but was solved by the support of the then Prime Minister of Jaipur, Sansar Chandra Sen and his son Avinash Chandra Sen. Gopinath looked after the studies of the sons of Avinash Babu and his problem of board and lodging was taken care of. A further stipend and some other support from friendly benefactors took care of his other necessary expenses. He spent four years at Jaipur, passing the B.A. examination of the

University of Allahabad in 1910 in the First Division, securing a very high position in the University. It was a rare achievement in those days and anyone could be justly proud of it.

Although these were years in which he was principally engaged in exploring the literary world, Gopinath could not be left untouched by the strong wave of nationalism which was then moving the country. Bengal, in particular, was agitated by the partition and a revolutionary movement took birth there. Gopinath was a regular reader of Sri Aurobindo's *Vande Mātaram* and engaged in political discussions with his friends. He even attended the Congress session at Calcutta in 1906 as a representative from Rajasthan. However, his essentially literary and intellectual interests as well as the fact of his being a part of the Jaipur Prime Minister's establishment prevented him from being more deeply involved in politics. Nevertheless the search for India's past came to occupy a prime place in the intellectual adventure of young Gopinath. Although impassioned, the orientation of his enquiry was not narrow. He remained a student of world literature as much as of India's past. The years at Jaipur were profoundly formative for him and he recalled them fondly even half a century later.

After graduating he decided to proceed to Varanasi for further study and joined the Queen's College over which Dr. Venis presided at that time. Gopinath joined M.A. in Sanskrit and elected for the Epigraphy group in the Final year. At the same time he studied *Navyanyāya* from Vamacharana Bhattacharya and along with it Pali, French and German from Prof. Norman. He remained a very dear student of Dr. Venis who taught Epigraphy. Although Gopinath was forced by ill health to abandon studies for a year after passing the Previous Examination, he rejoined the college in 1912 and passed the M.A. examination in 1913 from the Allahabad University in the First Division, obtaining record marks. This was a unique achievement in those days when a First in Sanskrit from the University of Allahabad was unthinkable.

He received an offer of appointment from the Oriental College, Lahore and another from the Mayo College, Ajmer, but decided on the advice of Dr. Venis to continue at Varanasi as a research scholar. In 1914 the young scholar was appointed

in charge of the Saraswati Bhawan Library and undertook the publication of its rare manuscripts and critical studies on them. In 1924 he was appointed to the coveted and prestigious post of the Principal, Government Sanskrit College, a post which had been held earlier by Dr. Venis himself and after him by Dr. Ganganath Jha.

Meanwhile a great change had gradually supervened in the life of Gopinath Kaviraj. At Varanasi through his friend Sachindra Nath Sanyal[1] he came in contact with a remarkable *Yogi*, Sivaramakinkara Yogatrayananda[2] for several years (1911-17). The focus of his studies began to shift increasingly after 1914 to mystical and esoteric literature of all kind. The death of Dr. Venis in 1918 and Kaviraj's acceptance of initiation from Sri Sri Visuddhananda, popularly called Gandhababa, in the same year marked a turning point in his career.[3] Spiritual philosophy and literature gradually became his principal interest and he turned increasingly from its theoretical study to its earnest practice. As a result he found the routine duties of his professional career irksome and finally took premature retirement from service in 1937, the same year as Sri Sri Visuddhananda died.

From then till his death on June 12, 1976 Kaviraj lived the life of a saint and savant, guiding spiritual aspirants, intellectuals and scholars alike. He stayed in his residence at Sigra, Varanasi and in his last years in the Ma Anandamayi Asrama at Bhadaini[4]. He was a one-man institution. Scholars and aspirants flocked to him from far and near and his years were spent in one-pointed dedication to the pursuit of intellectual and spiritual life. Although numerous honours were showered on him by Universities, other academic institutions and the Central and State Governments, he remained totally unaffected by these as by domestic vicissitudes.[5] He rarely moved out of Varanasi and almost never accepted the kind of assignments from Universities or the Government after which most scholars-constantly hanker. Thus he declined the offers of Professorship from the Benares Hindu University and the Calcutta University as also the offer of the Vice-Chancellorship of the Sanskrit University, Varanasi, specially made by the Government of U.P. Many universities showered honorary degrees on him but he never attended their convocations to receive the degrees. However, he wrote

good deal and continued to guide researchers and assess their efforts. For nearly four decades of his retirement he remained a model for all those who aspire after simple living and high thinking, an unparalleled combination of traditional and modern, Indian and Western learning, of scholarship and spiritual wisdom.

As mentioned before, Kaviraj displayed high creative talent from early childhood. While yet a student he composed poems in Bengali and English and some of them were published in respectable magazines. His critical interest, however, soon came to the fore and he published a series of studies on English and Bengali poets in prominent literary magazines. However, these essays in literary criticism served to reveal a deeper philosophical interest which led him ultimately to make a significant contribution to aesthetics. The impact of the Nationalist Movement and its search for identity as well as the contact with Dr. Venis stimulated his interest in critical and historical scholarship. This combined with his deep study of Sanskrit literature and philosophical texts enabled him to bring out the famous 'twin' series entitled *The Princess of Wales Saraswati Bhawan Texts* and the *Princess of Wales Saraswati Bhawan Studies*. Some of the most celebrated of Kaviraj's writings first appeared in these series.

Despite his religious interest from early childhood Kaviraj had a very critical mind and turned to the acceptance of a mystical and spiritual philosophy only gradually after a thorough logical enquiry and an extensive investigation of spiritual and mystical phenomena[6]. These together with his own personal experiences and critical reflections led him ultimately to propound a vast philosophical synthesis grounded in spiritual experiences.

Some of the important writings of Kaviraj are listed below.:

I. Early Writings (1904-13)

Bengali

Poem : "Se Khane", *Bandhab*, Dhaka, 1904.

Literary Criticism: "Hrdaya-Yamuna", *Arati*, Maimansingh, 1907.

"Browning", *Pravasi*, Calcutta, 1910-1911.

"Byron", *Pratibha*, Dhaka, 1911.

II. Middle Phase (1914-37) :

Bengali

1. "Sagara Sangita", *Alaka*, Benares, 1922.
2. "Rasa O Saundarya", *Banga Sahitya* Benares, 1923.
3. "Rabindranath O Balākā" *Uttara*, Benares, 1927.
4. "Pratyabhijñā Darśaner Bhumika", *Alaka*, Benares, 1922.
5. "Gaudiya Vaiṣṇava Darśana", *Uttara*, Benares, 1925-26.

English

1. "The Viewpoint of Nyaya Vaisesika Philosophy", *Princess of Wales Saraswati Bhawan Studies*, 1922
2. "Nirmana Kaya", *Ibid*, 1922.
3. "Doctrine of Pratibha in Indian Philosophy", *Abori*, 1923-24.
4. "Theism in Ancient India", *Saraswati Bhawan Studies*, 1923-24.
5. "History and Bibliography of Nyaya-Vaisesika Literature", *Ibid.*, 1924-29.
6. "The Problem of Causality in Sankhya", *Ibid.*, 1925.
7. "The Conception of Physical and Superphysical Organism in Sanskrit Literature", *Ibid.*, 1938.

Hindi

1. "Sanskrit Sahitya ke Itihasa mein Kasi ka Bhaga", *Vidyapitha Pattrika*, V.S. 1985.
2. "Dharma ka Sanatana Adarsa," *Kalyana*, V.S. 1989.
3. "Pracina Advaitavada ke Satha Sankara ke Advaitavada ka Sambandha", *Ibid*, V.S. 1993.
4. "Introduction to *Brahmasūtras*" *Acyutagranthamālā*, 1936.

III. Final Phase (1937-76):

Books

1. *Śri Sri Visuddhanand Prasanga*, 5 Vols , Varanasi, 1927-31.
2. *Akhaṇḍa Mahāyoga*, Calcutta, 1948.
3. *Sādhu Darśana O Satprasanga*, 1962-63.
4. *Tantra O Āgamaśāstrer Digdarśana*, Calcutta, 1963.
5. *Aspects of Indian Thought*, Burdwan, 1966.

6. *Bharatiya Sadhanar Dhara*, Calcutta, 1965.
7. *Sahityacinta*, Calcutta, 1966.
8. *Bharatiya Sanskriti aur Sadhana*, 2 vols. Patna, 1963-64.
9. *Tāntrika Vāṅmaya Mein Śākta Dṛṣṭi*, Patna, 1963.
10. *Kasi ki Sarasvata Sadhana*, Patna, 1965.
11. *Sri Kṛṣna Prasanga*, 1967.
12. *Tāntrikasāhitya*, Lucknow, 1972.
13. *Svātmasaṁvedana* (Hindi tr. 1983).

Articles

1. "Bharatiya Samskriti ka Svarupa", *Rastradharma*, V.S. 2006.
2. "Bharatiya Samskriti", *Uttara*, 1947.
3. "Nada, Vindu O Kala", *Ibid.*, 1948.
4. "Sakta Philosophy", *History of Philosophy—Eastern and Western*, 1952.
5. "Introduction", *Bauddha Dharma Darsana* by Narendra Deva.
6. "Introduction", *Studies in Jaina Philosophy* by Nathmal Tatia.
7. "Bhaktirahasya", *Kalyana*, V.S. 20 6.
8. "Nada, Bindu and Kala" *J.G.J.R.I.*, 1944-45.
9. "Deher Sadhan" *Himadri*, (Weekly), May-Aug. 1953, Nov. 1955-Jan. 1956.
10. "Mahagyaner Avataran", *Ibid.*, Nov. 1956.
11. "Pather Sandhan" *Ibid.*, June 1956-July 1957.
12. "Purnatver Aroha O Avaroha", *Ibid.*, May 1959.
13. "Atmar Purna Jagurana O Parinati" *Visuddha Bani*, 1967.

This list does not give any full idea of the writings of Kaviraj. A good many of his articles are scattered over a large number of publications in four languages and there are also imperfectly known unpublished writings. In fact, Kaviraj kept very meticulous records and diaries. Personal records of his letters and dialogues too constitute a most valuable source. Their publication and adequate study still remain a desideratum for the future. What is urgently needed is an authoritative and complete corpus of all his writings and papers. So long as this is not done a full account of Kaviraj's work would not really be possible.

2

Researches in Indian Philosophy

Kaviraj outlined a distinctive approach to Indian philosophy. He not only emphasised the need for a rigorous and intensive text-based study on the traditional model but also the extensive historical examination of the texts. At the same time he stressed the need for the critical study of philosophical systems and doctrines as logical constructs. Besides, he also laid great stress on the rootedness of philosophy in vision. Beginning from a vision of reality, philosophy proceeds by analysing it logically and constructing a system. It functions within a cultural ethos in response to spiritual and moral needs and undergoes historical evolution and change. At the same time it embodies the aspiration for logical truth. Actual philosophical systems, thus, combine the universal with the contingent, the logical with the spiritual and the historical.

Although the individuality of a great thinker remains irrepressible, the conception of philosophy in the Indian Tradition emphasises its 'scientific' and 'anonymous' rather than its individually creative aspect. The diversity of philosophical systems should be understood as due to the diversity of approaches and interpretations. There are many different levels and aspects of the vision of reality and also many different predilections in seers and interpreters. It is these differences which constitute the coloured spectrum of the white radiance of eternity. Kaviraj, thus, firmly believed in the possibility of a grand, graded synthesis of diverse philosophical systems.[1]

Kaviraj's point of view may be contrasted with several generally current points of view. The modern historiography of philosophy may be said to go back to Hegel who saw in the history of philosophy the dialectical development of the Logical

Idea. Later historians have emphasised the concept of evolutionary progress and the role of scientific development and social changes. Philosophers themselves, like Descartes or Kant, have not been wholly satisfied with the development of their discipline and have repeatedly sought to effect the one and true revolution in its methods and aims, which would set it on the path of assured progress. In practice they have succeeded in obscuring the unity of a great tradition by emphasising individual departures. Doubtless, Aristotelianism, Thomism, Cartesianism, Anglo-Saxon empiricism, German idealism, etc. remain significant schools or tendencies, but the notion of any synthesis or gradation between them is unlikely to be taken seriously except as a subjective or speculative venture.

Modern Western accounts of Indian philosophy have not been flattering and have adversely commented on its associations with religion and myth That philosophy is a purely rational enterprise, is a common modern assumption. The nature and limits of pure reason and its relationship to belief, values, experience and reality are, however, uncertain and debated issues. The nature of intuition or revelation or suprasensuous experience, has been debated by psychologists or philosophers of religion rather than by philosophers in general who tend to identify experience with common sensuous experience and reason with logical deduction. There are, doubtless, many exceptions which would militate against this brief and general sketch but it will perhaps not be disputed that the general view of philosophy today is that of a purely rational and critical enterprise which does not aim at positive knowledge. Cosmologists like Whitehead or Alexander are exceptions rather than the rule.

In contrast, Kaviraj has plainly indicated the affinity of the Indian conception of philosophy to the mediaeval rather than the modern Western conception. In India speculation was deemed blind without the guiding light which Revelation or Higher Perception alone can furnish. Thus the premises from which reason has to draw its inferences are naturally beyond its own reach and stand outside of itself. Reason is, by nature, impotent and cannot in anywise overstep its data. It is not creative or intuitive; its function is interpretation of facts. Its ultimate resort is, therefore, nothing short of Direct Ex-

perience."[2] But human experience is limited and liable to error. Philosophy, therefore, requires an infinite experience on which reasoning must be based. "This infinite experience is embodied in the revealed scriptures." To the general Indian philosopher, "much in the same fashion as to the schoolmen of mediaeval Europe, reason is subservient to faith." "Believe and then know (*śraddhāvān labhate jñānam*). This seems to be the motto of Indian philosophy".[3]

Thus understood philosophy comes to have a necessary though secondary place in the scheme of human life. Although the ultimate source of true knowledge is revelation, the contents of revelation cannot be accepted without questioning, given the actual state of human life. Unless rational enquiry is satisfied, nothing can carry conviction to man. The content of revelation cannot inspire faith unless the sense of its contradiction with rational truth disappears. Revealed truth becomes credible only when reason assents to its possibility (*sambhāvanābuddhi*). The well known ancient Upaniṣadic injunction, *Ātmā vā are draṣṭavyah, śrotavyo mantavyo nididhyāsitavyaḥ*, implied that having known the nature of the Self from the sacred texts, one should cogitate over it in accordance with logical reasoning and then having reached rational conviction meditate over it to reach an intuitive experience.

It is not that a distinction between logical philosophy and spiritual science was not made in ancient times. The ancient scheme of the Four Sciences clearly distinguished between *ānvīkṣikī* and *trayī*. The *Vedas* enunciated spiritual principles and that constituted *adhyātmavidyā*. *Ānvīkṣikī* was the reflective and rational examination of principles and it worked in accordance with its canon of logical and critical principles. It concerned itself primarily with the dispelling of doubts. "A categorical enunciation of the truths is not its province—it deals with reasons of things."[4]

Philosophy was also called *Nyāya* or the science of proof (*pramāṇa*) or critical examination (*vicāraśāstra*). As the word (*śabda*) is one of the means of knowledge (*pramāṇas*), its self-consistency as well as its consistency with the evidence of other means of knowledge (*pramāṇas*) need to be examined and this is the function of philosophy. Thus functioning harmoniously faith and reason serve to establish a

working philosophy of life or a reasoned point of view (*dṛṣṭi*) which is the indispensable basis of spiritual practice or *sādhana*.

This view of the nature of philosophy should not be regarded as reducing it to dogmatic theology or to its hand maiden. In its rational and critical operations philosophy remains autonomous. Vācaspati Miśra declared that no authority can alter the nature of things by a fiat.[5] Udayana declared that the truth is that which is revealed by evidence just as the East is where the sun rises. Buddhists consistently held that all dogmas must be tested in the crucible of rational examination.[6] This free rein given to the critical autonomy of reason meant that the philosophers were free to interpret the scriptural texts in accordance with their rational convictions. But the autonomy of reason could not mean its independence from experience and experience is not limited to common sensory experience. The accumulated evidence of human experience attests to the fact of non-sensory, spiritual experience. It is this experience which constitutes the essential nature of revelation. The status of Revelation is not to be confined to some unique event or to some defined books or texts. Revelation is the testimony of enlightened seers who arise in all ages and societies. Like philosophical understanding and predilection, revelation too has a great variety. It belongs to diverse levels and is expressed diversely. The fact is that revelation as infinite and infallible experience cannot be expressed in words except partially and inadequately and is invariably distorted by the force of linguistic and logical categories.

To say, then, that the central task of philosophy is to examine and interpret revealed truths, is merely to say that in delineating the nature of spiritual reality it must take into account the testimony of direct spiritual experience. Just as no scientific account of nature can be given without the examination of empirical evidence, similarly no philosophical account of the spiritual realm is possible without the examination of revealed evidence. This does not dogmatise about the exclusive truth of any particular religious or scriptural tradition. Its tendency is universalistic. All claims to revelation need to be examined impartially in the light of reason and other evidence.

Nor should it be supposed that revelation is the unique privilege of some person or persons or societies. It is inherently

repeatable like other experience and hence personally testable. Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa is well known to have personally attested to the truth of several different systems of spiritual practice and their resultant revelations Kaviraj met and interviewed a large number of saints and seers and saw no discontinuity between their testimony and that of ancient religious scriptures of different traditions. In fact, he was himself a spiritual seer and saw no contradiction between his own experience and *philosophia perennis*.

Philosophy, then, may be said to presuppose revelation in the sense of direct spiritual experience but without surrendering its autonomy. One might say philosophy is secondary to revelation only in the sense in which criticism is secondary to creativity, reason to experience.

This elucidation of the nature of philosophy not only preserves its autonomy but gives it a definite and indispensable position in the scheme of human life and culture. What is more it makes it "easy to understand how different systems of philosophy, apparently conflicting with and subversive of one another, originate. The Highest Truth, which reveals itself to the light of supra-mental Intuition, is indeed one and indivisible, but it appears in diverse forms when looked at from diverse points of view corresponding to the capacities and tastes of the individual *sādhakas*. So long as the individualised consciousness asserts itself—so long as we are unable to dispense with "mind" as an organ of knowledge—it is vain to hope for the attainment of the *Absolute Truth*. Relative or partial truth is all that can be reached by human reason. And these relative or fragmentary truths, or aspects of the Absolute Truth, are held to be the immediate ends of the different systems of philosophy. They represent varying stages in the ascending order of the *sādhaka's* journey in quest of self-realisation. When pieced and studied in the light of the resultant whole, they will present a sublime picture of synthesis. . . ."[7] This coordination of the systems is possible "simply because there is at bottom a real Unity." "This Unity, of which Revelation is an expression, is transcendental. The *ṛṣis*—the Sages and the Illuminatii—split up by an apparent process of self-division, this Unity into concepts of symbolical knowledge, arranged them in certain grades of increasing

purity and laid them before the intellectual faculties to play with. If rightly pursued, these will result in a wonderful clarification of the intellect, when the "mind' will cease to work and vanish. On the bare soul, Truth will then dawn as a flash of lightening, dispelling all doubts and uncertainties."[8]

This notion of the graded or multilevel harmony of philosophical perceptions is based on the doctrine of *adhikāra-bheda* or differentiated eligibility. It means that not every man is capable of receiving every form of truth. "The faculty of understanding develops gradually, and in the course of this development, truths which once seemed unintelligible and vague begin to assume a depth of meaning and are accepted. It is thus that the folly of one age is turned into wisdom in another. So it is with countries and individuals."[9] Many ancient seers and masters explicitly held this view of the relativity of philosophical truth to the understanding and disposition of the seeker. Udayana and Madhusūdana Sarasvatī,[10] the Buddhists[11] and the Kāśmīra Śaivas[12] gave expression to it. The Jainas hold it in their own way. Dogmatism and narrow scholarship have tended to obscure it but in modern times Kaviraj has been its most eloquent exponent. What Sri Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahamsa accomplished for *sādhana*, revealing the inner consistency of its diverse modes, Kaviraj may be said to have done for the systems of Indian philosophy. He was a peerless master of the different systems and in an authentic position to connect them with their spiritual insights. He believed that "there is a real order in the systems of Indian philosophy which a close study is able to discover". It may be recalled, as mentioned above, that several ancient thinkers have proposed different ordering schemes of this kind. Kaviraj was content to observe that while these differences would themselves need discussion, the sense of order was undeniable and one could perceive ' a real spirit of Unity, of aim as well as of methods, among the diversities of thought and activity according to Indian philosophers."[13]

Among the systems which Kaviraj first investigated from this perspective on philosophy was the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika*. He began by publishing a meticulous and critically annotated historical bibliography or *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* literature from published and unpublished sources. The work has long remained a standard guide to all students and scholars of the subject. He

then went on to delineate the fundamental viewpoint of the system in his characteristically brilliant and profound manner. This viewpoint is eminently that of common-sense reasoning dominated by the sense of reality of the external world, the distinctness of different objects, the ubiquity of the causal law and the adequacy of the powers of language and logic. With its realism, pluralism and pan-objectivism, *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* has produced an acute analysis of language and logic, of the world of common experience and at the same time a spirited rational defence of spiritual verities, viz. the soul, God, life after death and salvation. It was the most determined critic of heterodoxy, materialism and atheism. With its devotion to common-sense and logic it nevertheless subscribed to orthodoxy. Hence Kaviraj remarks that the "*Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* philosophy is generally conceived by synthetic critics to stand on the lowest rung of this ladder, so far as the present orthodox systems are concerned".[14] One is tempted to say that the gate-keeper must necessarily stand at the bottom of the ladder since he must be able to see those who are outside and also have an idea of the things above.

Coming to the essential viewpoint of *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* Kaviraj observes: "In the first place, and at the root of all, we may note the belief that there is a close correspondence between the order of our ideas and the order of extra-mental reality to which it testifies. The two orders stand to each other in a certain relation of causal sequence—whatever is present to consciousness has therefore an objective ground of reality. It is independent of consciousness in so far as its existence is prior to the existence of the phenomena of our mental life and also as a condition of the possibility of such phenomena"[15]. This objective reality may correspond to some immediate perception or to some notion reached by a process of abstract reasoning or by some other valid source of knowledge. "Idea (*pratīti*) being a symbol of, and verbal usage (*vyavahāra*) being based on reality, it is assumed to be an index of its existence." This has been expressed in the famous dictum "*Saṁvideva hi bhagavatī vastūpagame naḥ śaraṇam,*"—For the attainment of reality, consciousness alone is our refuge.

Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika accepts causality as undeniable because its denial would stultify all rational enquiry and practice. Observ-

ing the causal process it holds that it amounts to the production of an effect which did not exist before and which when destroyed is reduced to nothing. "*Relatively speaking* the cause is *nitya* and the effect is *anitya*." The Matter as well as the Universal are already there. The emergence of the effect means the emergence of a particular *form* in this Matter, "which stands on one hand for the manifestation of the appropriate Universal and on the other for the origin of the individual in which the Universal is apprehended." This is the *Asatkārya* theory of the *Naiyāyikas*, which is supposed to be a reaction against Buddhist doctrines as well as the *Sāṅkhya* doctrine.

The causation of an effect "implies a change of condition or movement which presupposes the presence of two factors, one passive which receives and the other active which imparts the transitive movement."[16] The passive element is the material or constitutive cause of the product and is relatively permanent. "It is invariably a substance, positive in character. The active factor known as the operative, efficient, or instrumental cause acts upon the product either directly or by virtue of its presence." The causal capacity of Divine Will, Time, Space, etc., has to be conceived only in this latter sense. While the material cause is intrinsic, the instrumental cause is extrinsic. *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* is, however, forced by the exigencies of its fundamental position to postulate a third kind of intermediate cause called non-inherent (*asamavāyi*).

While primay matter and the Universals are eternal, it is the individuals which are produced and are perishable. The beginning of the causal process is the beginning of creation. Within the matrix of primary matter, atomic as well as ubiquitous, Time, Space, universals and atomic minds, creation begins with the initial stirring of atomic matter and atomic minds. This stirring is attributed to *adṛṣṭa* which resides as a specific quality in the soul. "In other words, the *manas* and the material particles are stirred into activity by one and the same force conceived as a quality present in the self." The creation of the world itself "is justifiable only on moral grounds as the field wherein the Self has to work out its destinies. It can have no other meaning". Past actions and volitions of the Self produce tendencies and strains which lie dormant in it and in due course become the causes of pleasure and pain, and give rise "indeed

to the whole panorama of phenomenal existence."[17]

Karman resides in the individual self and operates simultaneously to aggregate the atoms into a particular body as also to connect the individual self with the particular body. "The same *karman* which resides in a particular self creates for it by a process of atomic combination (*aṇusaṅghāta*) its vehicle of experiences." Otherwise it would be impossible to explain the connection of ubiquitous selves with particular bodies. "It is a universally admitted fact that such a restriction (*niyama*) of personal experience really exists—one cannot enjoy or suffer in another's body. Hence there must be a ground of restriction. This is *karma.*"

In common with several other classical systems, *Nyāya* traces *Karma* to Ignorance which "is said to consist in thinking that the Self is *kartā* and *bhoktā* and that it is identical with the body and senses or at least is their owner." True agency belongs to God alone though man labours and suffers under a radical misapprehension of the truth The true end of human life, the liberation of the soul from the pervasive suffering of experience, is possible only through the realization of the omnipotence of God, i.e. the realization that all causal power ultimately proceeds from the will of God.

It would be noticed from this brief summary of Kaviraj's exposition of the basic viewpoint of *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* that it focusses attention on moral and spiritual principles and relates the whole philosophical system to the necessities arising from them. It is usual to emphasise the logical principles of *Nyāya* or the physics of the *Vaiśeṣika.* But Kaviraj emphasises the inner spiritual quest of the system. In the search for liberation it faces the problem of *karma* and is led to the analysis of causation as the central fact of experience and being. The analysis of causation leads it to the formulation of categories and structures, and ultimately to a theistic cosmology. One could say that in a way, the *Nyāya-Kusumāñjali* of Udayana represents the culmination of *Nyāya.* The pervasive dependence of mediaeval theistic systems on the basic concepts and arguments of *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* is not without reason. It is true that the polemic of the great *Nyāya* Masters—Vātsyāyana, Uddyotakāra, Vācaspati, Udayana and Jayanta—with rival views especially of the Buddhists, was of great historical importance in the development of the *Nyāya* system but it presupposes

rather than clarifies the essential viewpoint of the system. It is not unusual in philosophical debate for secondary conceptualizations to assume prominence in polemical contexts. It is, thus, that logical issues and principles came to the fore in Buddhist philosophy and, *Nyāya* which had a close connection with logic from the beginning was led to emphasise those ever more.

Although connected with a spiritual quest which sought liberation from psycho-physical experience, *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* philosophy was methodologically limited to the logical and linguistic analysis of common-sense notions and usages, though to explain these it was led beyond mere common-sense. *Sāṁkhya*, on the other hand, beginning with the same quest, relied on *Yogic* experience and its metapsychic analysis. This difference is reflected in the basic categories of the two systems. The causal phenomenon is fundamental in *Sāṅkhya* also but it rejects the common-sense view of the ultimate reality and distinctness of its objects and hence the theory of *asatkāryavāda*. It accepts the reality of an ultimate matrix out of which all creation proceeds but does not analyse it in the way in which *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* does. For both Matter is formless before creation, indeterminate and supersensuous (*atīndriya*), but while for *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* the universal is eternal and the individual perishable (*dhvaṁsa-pratiyogi*), for *Sāṁkhya* the individual is permanent and there is no need to assume a real independent Universal. "The individual is considered to consist of two-fold aspect (Cf. the view of Indifferentists, e.g. Adelard of Bath) viz. the generic and the specific (*sāmānyaviśeṣātmaka*) and has an eternal existence *per se*. What is popularly called production is only manifestation (*āvirbhāva*); i.e. descent as it were from the Eternal Plane into the realm of Time. · And as all manifestation is relative; it means that in an absolute sense, i.e. from the standpoint of God or *yuktayogi* there is nothing like production or creation. In Eternity—on the Divine Plane—There can be no 'motion' and consequently no flux."[18].

It would be noticed that this exposition of the *satkāryavāda* and its implications, places *Sāṁkhya* in a light different from the usual one which pictures the *Sāṁkhya* as emphasising the perpetual flux of Nature. The *Sāṁkhya* view of universals is rarely taken into account. "The *Naiyāyika*, with his com-

mon-sense and realistic assumptions would naturally be inclined to favour the view which maintains an absolute difference (*atyantābheda*) between the cause (material) and the effect. To him the cause and the effect are two distinct concepts, though bound together by a mysterious tie of relationship." However, although the effect is distinct from the cause it inheres in the cause while it exists and its non-existence too, whether as *prāgabhāva* or *dhvaṁsābhāva*, "is predicable of the cause alone." This appeal to the "nature of things" on the part of the *Naiyāyika* "amounts practically to a confession of weakness." On the other hand, *satkāryavāda* holds that we must start from the assumption "under the necessity of our thought, that being comes from *being* and not from *non-being*, and that an absolute void giving rise to being is inconceivable." "Every product being an aspect of the supreme *prakṛti* in which it exists somehow involved and identified as an eternal moment, creation out of nothing and annihilation is an absurdity." Change is thus, "conceived as the transition of a *dharma* from an unmanifest to a manifest state and from the manifest back into the unmanifest condition."[19].

A radical implication of this view of change is that destruction can be never be irreversible in principle and in fact, Kaviraj sometimes expressed the belief that the perfect *Yogi*, could recover the lost individual if he so chose.[20] However, he also pointed out the difficulty in this view: when a *dharma* becomes past, *krama* ceases and this would make the past irreversible. One would like to add that temporal order itself depends on *Karman* as the cosmic determinant. The will of the *Yogi*, as a consequence, could not act in defiance of the cosmic design or the divine will. This would, of course, not prevent a replication of the past object.

Causation on the *Sāṁkhya* view is nothing but *prakṛti-vikṛti-bhāva*—the manifestation an individual form out of the unmanifest, universal being. The distinction between material and efficient cause (*upādāna* and *nimitta*) is here overridden but an ultimate final cause in the shape of *bhoga* and *apavarga* is accepted. The evolution (*pariṇāma*) of the *prakṛti* is ultimately for the *apavarga* of the *Puruṣa*. *Prakṛti* is endowed with the inherent motion of the *guṇas* and contains infinite forms *in potentia*. A specific form or *dharma* is manifested

when its barrier is removed by the operation of a specific *karman*. The process of creation and the process of the fulfilment of the soul are two sides of the same coin.

How does the same *prakṛti* or ultimate *dharmī* produce infinitely diverse forms (*vikṛtis, dharmas*)? Kaviraj answers this by bringing in the extremely subtle and difficult concept of *krama*. "*Krama* is the relative sequence between one *dharma* and another." "It is the sequence of *kṣaṇas* (*Kṣanānantaryātmā*)" The diversity of products, thus, may be ascribed to the cumulative effect of the *kramas*, the invisible sequences formed by the movement of the *gunas*.

The emphasis in this exposition of *Sāṁkhya* is not on the duality of *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti*, nor on the so-called 'insentience' of *Prakṛti* just as in the exposition of *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* the emphasis was not on the *pramāṇas* or the *padārthas*. The emphasis again is on causality—*satkāryavāda* or *asatkāryavāda*—and its cosmological implications. In these as in many other systems, the whole process of cosmic creation and order is bound up with the process of spiritual bondage and liberation. Man is faced with the spiritual problem of bondage and liberation and this leads to an enquiry into the causes of bondage and liberation. The spiritual quest, thus, becomes the source of philosophical enquiry, and the causal process and its operation in human life acquire a central position.

Although widely differing in their explanations neither *Sāṁkhya* nor *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* doubt the reality of causation. Although both place the goal of the spiritual quest in the plane of eternity, their analysis is largely focussed on the temporal world : The *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* does not want to undermine the distinct reality of common-sense objects while *Sāṁkhya* emphasises the invisible unity of Nature pervading all manifest objects. This difference cannot be unconnected with the closeness of *Saṁkhya* and *Yoga*. In contrast with these systems, it is in some of the Non-dualistic systems that the reality of causation and the temporal world dependent on it was questioned. The most important of these non-dualistic traditions may be seen in *Vedānta*.

Although there have been a couple of detailed histories of Vedānta in Japanese and Bengali and numerous briefer accounts

have appeared in other languages such as German and English, Kaviraj's short sketch of the development of Vedāntic thought in Hindi remains one of the most brilliant and thought-provoking.[21] He not only touches on some of the major critical historical issues but also discusses Vedāntic thought in the larger context of similar and rival schools, and no one was more qualified to do this than he. As is well known, Vedāntic thought was systematized by Bādarāyaṇa in the *Vedāntasūtras.* The antiquity of this text has been much debated, Jacobi placing it as late as A.D. 5th century. Kaviraj disputes this as unproved since it assumes that the rival systems criticised in the text must have been in their final classical form. One must distinguish between the continuing tradition of basic ideas and their systematic formulation. In fact, ancient Indian philosophical schools have evolved through three distinct phases. Their earliest phase was one of a distinctive point of view embracing certain fundamental ideas and going back to hoary antiquity. At a later stage they were systematically formulated in *sūtra* works. Still later there was a development in detail through expository and polemical commentaries and sub-commentaries. In the case of Vedānta the original tradition goes back to the *Upaniṣads*, and the *Vedāntasūtras* seek to systematize the Upaniṣadic views which were already subject to a diversity of interpretations. Kaviraj suggests that the *Bhikṣu-sūtras* of Pārāśarya referred to by Pāṇini could conceivably be the *Vedāntasūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa. The snag in this view is the reference to heterodox views in the *Tarkapāda.* Does the reference to the *Sāṁkhya* presuppose the *Sāṁkhyakārikās* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa or merely an ancient *Sāṁkhya* tradition? Kaviraj rightly suggests the latter alternative as more plausible. In any case, Īśvarakṛṣṇa merely summarized an ancient tradition. The reference to the *Vaiśeṣika* too does not pose any problem for it was an undoubtedly ancient system. It may be recalled that Phanibhushan Tarkavāgīśa suggested plausibly that the reference to *Sāṁkhya* and *Yoga* in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya is really a reference to *Sāṁkhya* and *Vaiśeṣika* (=*Yauga*), thus confirming their antiquity[22]. The references to the Pāśupata and Pāñcarātra too are to ancient schools as proved by references in the *Mahābhārata*, and, one may add, by the evidence of Megasthenes. The trouble arises from the reference to Jainism

and Buddhism especially to the Buddhist schools of *Sarvāstivāda Vijñānavāda* and, possibly, *Śūnyavāda*. Kaviraj points out that even the basic ideas of these schools were quite ancient and could be traced in the *Kathāvatthu* and Pali or Ardhamāgadhī canonical works. Even so it would prevent the identification of *Bhikṣusūtras* with the *Śārīrakasūtras*. One would like to add to Kaviraj's hypothesis by suggesting that the *Bhikṣusūtras* might have been an earlier or original version of the *Śārīrakasūtras* in which the polemical *Tarkapāda* was absent or shorter. Possibly then we could regard the present *Vedāntasūtras* as an enlarged and updated later version of an earlier work.

Of the Buddhist schools referred to by Bādarāyaṇa, *Sarvāstivāda* was one of the eighteen *Nikāyas* which arose in the second century after the *nirvāṇa* of Buddha. These schools arose through the interpretation of seminal ideas in the ancient canonical texts and by the time of Aśoka were engaged in fierce polemic. About *Śūnyavāda* and *Vijñānavāda* Kaviraj rightly questions the assumption that Bādarāyaṇa's references to them presuppose the systematizing activity of Nāgārjuna, Maitreyanātha or Asanga. In fact, in support of Kaviraj's view one would like to add here that the *Vedāntasūtras* do not give evidence of a clear separation of the two Buddhist schools nor of the technicalities of developed *Vijñānavāda* or of a *Śūnyavāda* distinct from it. The general viewpoint which they criticise is reminiscent of the earlier *Mahāyāna sūtras* rather than of the later *Śāstra* works of the *Ācāryas*.[23] And as Kaviraj has pointed out the seminal ideas of this kind go back to the early canonical texts.

Nevertheless, a pertinent question is bound to arise in the mind of the enquiring historian. If the interpretations by Śaṅkara of these *sūtras* in the *Tarkapāda* are correct, they presuppose a phase of considerable logical argumentation and technicalities on the part of the Buddhist schools. It is, however possible that while formulating the *pūrvapakṣa* Śaṅkara has imported a later stage of its development than the one available to the *sūtrakāra* himself.

As mentioned before, Bādarāyaṇa refers to a number of earlier Vedāntic sages such as Bādari, Āsmarathya, Ātreya, Kāśakṛtsna, Auḍulomi, Kārṣṇājini, and Jaimini. About

Bādarāyaṇa's own point of view it has been argued by Thibaut that it was different from that of Śaṅkara. Kaviraj points out that this view had been expressed earlier by Rāmānuja and Bhāskara who charged Śaṅkara with deviating from the intention of the *sūtrakāra*. At the same time Kaviraj draws attention to the testimony of Śāṇḍilya which characterizes Bādarāyaṇa as having been a monist.

Subsequent to Bādarāyaṇa a series of great *Ācārya* sought to define the meaning of his *sūtras*. Some of the celebrated names among these are Bhartṛprapañca, Brahmānandī, Taṅka, Guhadeva, Bhāruci, Kapardī, Upavarṣa, Bhartṛhari, Bodhāyana, Sundarapāṇḍya, Dramiḍācārya, and Brahmadatta. Bhartṛprapañca appears to have commented on the *Kaṭhopaniṣad* and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and is known to have propounded the doctrine of *Jñāna-karma-samuccaya-vāda*. The view rested on the metaphysical belief that reality is one *qūa Brahman*, many *qūa* the *world*. Plurality is proved by the evidence of common-sense perception which is a valid means of knowledge. On the other hand, the truth of unity is known through the evidence of Vedic revelation. Upavarṣa was respectfully referred to by Śabara, and Bodhāyana is claimed as his model by Rāmānuja. Brahmānandī and Taṅka were known as *Vākyakāras*. Brahmadatta was a non-dualist but held the *jīva* to be a transient entity, emerging from and finally merging into *Brahman*. But he held to the necessity of *karma* and *upāsana* for salvation. Maṇḍana Miśra appears to have followed him in believing that 'direct knowledge' could not arise from verbal knowledge. Sundara Pāṇḍya was an Advaitin and has been quoted by Śaṅkara He was apparently a Śaiva and counted among the Nāynārs.

The works of these ancient scholars and commentators have all been lost and for all intents and purposes the extant tradition begins with Śaṅkara who eclipsed his predecessors. The date of Śaṅkara has been much debated. Although the dates A.D. 788-820 are generally accepted now-a-days, the acceptance is by no means unanimous. Prof. Nakamura, for example has expressed himself in favour of an earl er date. He refers to Śaṅkara's quotations from *Dharmakīrti*—"*Sahopalambhaniyamād abhedo*"—and from *Dignāga*—"*Yad antarjñeya rūpam tat*", as also from some other Buddhist teachers and probably from Samantabhadra. These quotations suggest a date in the earlier

part of the 8th century.

To what extent was Śaṅkara indebted to Mahāyānic Advayavāda, remains a much debated question. Kaviraj is fully aware of the points of contact between Mahāyāna and Śaṅkara. The *Kārikās* of Gauḍapāda are full of Madhyamika ideas and phrases and Buddhist technical terms. Some of the *Kārikās* simply echo Nāgārjuna. The concept of illusionism and the distinction between the two points of view of *Vyavahāra* and *Paramārtha* were first clearly formulated by Buddhist philosophers. Despite this, however, Kaviraj discounts the idea that Śaṅkara's Advaita is derived from Buddhism. Śaṅkara was undoubtedly aware of diverse earlier and contemporary forms of non-dualism but his doctrines principally derive from the earlier Upaniṣadic tradition which in its turn presumably influenced the Buddhist thinkers also. It may be mentioned here that M.M. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya has elaborately shown the indebtedness of Gauḍapāda to Buddhism. However, whether the commentary on the *Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad* or its *Kārikās* is from the pen of Śaṅkara, is highly doubtful. That Śaṅkara's *advaita* is rooted in the *Upaniṣads* is indubitable, but that Buddhist illusionism and the theory of two standpoints appear to have influenced him, is difficult to deny. In fact, Śantarakṣita who could not be far removed from Śaṅkara expressed himself quite favourably towards Vedānta complaining of its slight error 'in the matter of holding to eternity (*nityatoktitah*)'. What really divides the Vedāntic from Buddhist non-dualism is the place which the doctrine of Ātman occupies in it.

Among the disciples of Śaṅkara Sureśvara and Padmapāda were the most famous. Contrary to a widely current tradition, Sureśvara must be clearly distinguished from Maṇḍana Miśra, although he was probably identical with Viśvarūpācārya. Padmapāda is famous for his *Pañcapādikā* which became the basis of the *Vivaraṇa* School. Little is known about Troṭakācārya and Hastamalaka who were also Śaṅkara's direct disciples.

Kaviraj thus sums up the contribution of Śaṅkara—"Śaṅkara eclipsed all the rival schools in scholastic debate and reclaimed the *holy* places which had been captured by them. He refined the way for the understanding of the profound secrets of the *Upaniṣads* and the Vedic faith through the correct exposition of their principles in the works which he and his

disciples composed. His arrangement made it possible for the people of the entire country to grasp the essence of the faith preached by him. If the view of Śrī *Vidyārṇava* is accepted, it would follow that just as he had preached the path of pure knowledge to the *sannyāsins*, so he preached the path of worship for the householders. In older times the Buddhists had a similar arrangement. Besides, like the Buddhists, Śaṅkara sought to organise the *sannyāsins* in monastic orders and established four centres in the four corners of the country. Jyotirmaṭha or Joshimaṭha is near the Badarikāśrama, Śāradāmaṭha is in Dvārakadhama, Śṛṅgerīmaṭha in Rāmeśvara region and Govardhanamaṭha in the Puruṣottama region. He appointed his disciples Troṭakācārya, Hastāmalaka, Sureśvara and Padmapāda over these as his representatives." The geographical regions to be controlled by these monastic centres were carefully delineated. "The purpose of this organisation was to ensure that the *Varṇāśrama* order should remain secure under the firm protection of Vedānta as preached by the monastic centres. It was the principal duty of the monastic authorities to preach to the followers of *Varnāśrama dharma* in their area and help them follow their chosen faith. These monastic heads were called Śaṅkarācāryas, being his representatives."[24] A well known character of the great Ācārya in 25 verses lays down the duties and functions of the Śaṅkarācāryas who were required to be peripatetic in their defined territories and the people were advised to ensure that only highly qualified persons of knowledge and character were allowed to hold the office of Śaṅkarācārya.

Since the Advaita of Śaṅkara regards the eternal alone as real, the world of causality and time cease to be regarded as ultimately real. The Buddhists who had exalted causality into the very essence of actuality or pragmatic reality agreed that such a reality is ultimately no better than a pseudo-reality but they could not conceive eternity as positive being in any sense. The Mādhyamikas held ultimate reality to be totally indefinable, beyond affirmation or negation. The Yogācāra held the whole phenomenal world to be an expression—*Pariṇāma*—of *Vijñāna* or Mind. There is a partial overlap between these doctrines and Śaṅkara's Advaita which also holds *Brahman* to be of the nature of consciousness and the whole world to be its appearance

relative to Ignorance and hence unreal in a fundamental sense. Nevertheless, Advaita distinguishes sharply between the eternal consciousness which is *Brahman* and the phenomenal consciousness which is the Mind or *Vijñāna*. Also, although the Advaita refuses to define or objectivize *Brahman*, it avoids agnosticism and nihilism plainly by regarding the not unknown self as *Brahman*. This starting point, which also indicates the goal, of Advaitic enquiry distinguishes it from the Mādhyamika. The non-dualism of Śaṅkara distinguishes his philosophy obviously from *Saṁkhya* and *Vaiśeṣika*. As for the Pāśupata and the pañcarātras apart from their heterodoxy, these systems carry the principle of action and power into the very heart of reality. For them God really creates, and liberation requires the real action of worship. Śaṅkara's system does not admit the ultimate reality of action and causation in *Brahman* or for liberation. As bondage is the product of Ignorance, liberation is eternally accomplished and only needs knowledge for its realization. Jainism too declared itself to be basically a form of *Kriyāvāda*, and Mīmāṁsā is well known to have upheld the principle of *karman*. Advaita consequently is sharply divided from these systems. One could say that viewing reality *sub specie aeternitatis* as the changeless Absolute, Śaṅkara's Advaita necessarily reduces all modal being to mere appearance.

The heart of this viewpoint lies in the distinction made between knowledge and action. Knowledge reveals a thing as it is by nature and nothing can be what it is not by nature. Neither can knowledge change reality nor can reality change its nature. Nor indeed can knowledge itself change in its real nature or ultimate witnessing capacity. Thus understood, knowledge by its nature implies the sole ultimate reality of eternal self-consciousness. Alteration, plurality and action get excluded from the level of reality. This view came to be understood popularly as standing for the utter transcendence of *Brahman*, implying the illusory character of the world, with the 'self' holding the two ends together.

Despite his profoundest respect for Śaṅkara and for the Vedāntic theory of the Self, Kaviraj had a greater fascination for the activistic non-dualistic theories of some Śaivas and the Śāktas. In fact, he believed that Śaṅkara was associated with the *Śrīvidyāsampradāya* as shown by *Śrīvidyārṇava*, *Saundaryalaharī*

etc., and the tradition of worship of *Śrīcakra* in one of his monastic establishments, viz. *Śṛṅgerīmaṭha*. Śaṅkara's connection with Śivādvaita is clear from his *Dakṣiṇāmūrtistotra*. It seems that the great commentaries of Śaṅkara had primarily a polemical intent and sought to free the Vedāntic tradition from interpretations which compromised with Mīmāṁsā, and at the same time sought to defend it against diverse heterodoxies. Their comparative silence on cosmology or the science of worship needs to be supplemented by other works like *Saundaryalahari* and *Dakṣiṇāmurtistotra* which suggestively and unmistakably lean on Śaiva or Śākta Tāntric philosophies. The usual interpretation of Śaṅkara's Advaita suggests that a perfectly eligible seeker should acquire self-knowledge through the hearing of the *Mahāvākyas*, transcend the world and merge in *Brahman*. For those with imperfect eligibility it may be necessary to engage in rational deliberation or even in worship or the performance of socio-religious obligations. Kaviraj had reservations about such an account. It suffers from simplistic abstraction and 'esoteriological egoism'. The true doctrine of Vedānta was held by him to be that of *sarvamukti* implied in *Ekajīvavāda*. The enlightened person instead of 'merging in *Brahman*' serves as a vehicle of the descent of grace on others. Nor is knowledge a momentary and final revelation which dies out like the burning flare of camphor. Persistent knowledge in the state of *samprajñāta samādhi* has the effect of transforming material nature.[25] But of these ideas a more detailed account will be given later.

One of the philosophical schools which fascinated Kaviraj most was that of Kashmir Śaivism. It was at once monistic and theistic, non-dualistic and activistic. The basic principle of this system is that consciousness or *samvit* is the unity of *Prakāśa* and *Vimarśa*, passivity and activity, witnessing and creativity. The heart of conciousness is not mere passivity as in the *Puruṣa* of *Saṁkhya* or *Vedāntic Brahman*, it is in its spontaneous capacity of determining or creating its object. *Vimarśa* is the self-affirmation of *samvit*. All objects are constituted by this Light of consciousness in its infinite self-determination. *Samvit* is the same as Parama Śiva with whom the whole cosmos is identical. Śiva is at once immanent in the world and ever-transcendent. Creation is his spontaneous self-expression.

The Advaita of Śaṅkara is hard put to explain the enigma of creation. Creation not being real depends on the beginningless force of Ignorance but this is really an escape from the problem. How does Ignorance arise when *Brahman* is the sole reality? *Māyā* is described as *sadasadvilakṣaṇa* but this tends to compromise Advaita. For Śaṅkara Godhead (*iśvaratva*) is itself relative to Ignorance. Creation thus gets reduced to Illusion, a point of view which the Buddhists had much elaborated. Thus Śaṅkara states "The lordship, omniscience and omnipotence of God is relative to the determination by the accident of Ignorance. In reality when all the accidents are eliminated by knowledge, it is not plausible to speak of Lord and subject, omniscience etc., with respect to the Self (*na paramārthato vidyayāpāsta sarvopādhi-svarūpa ātmanīśitrīśitavyasarvajñatvādi-vyavāhāra upapādyate*—Comy ad V.S. 2.1.14)." But in the *Dakṣiṇāmūrtistotra* (v. 10) Śaṅkara plainly declares the eternal lordship and power of God, a point which Sureśvara elaborates. It is this lesser known side of Śaṅkara which is continuous with Śaiva Non-dualism. The source of creation is the essential spontaneity or freedom (*svâtantrya*) of Śiva. Creation is nothing except His eternal self-expression.

Two questions might naturally be raised here. First, does not Śaṅkara contradict himself by the two divergent views expressed by him, one in the celebrated commentary on the *Vedāntasūtras* and the other in the *Dakṣiṇāmūrtistotra?* Should not the *stotra*, even if genuine, be regarded as merely expressing a lower or popular point of view suited to devotional fervour? Actually, one would like to suggest that it is the commentary which is written from a special polemical point of view intended to silence Buddhist objections against creationism at the logical plane. It would be difficult for spiritual seekers to accept that eternal verities are more adequately expressed on the logical plane of debate than on the plane of enlightened devotion.

The other question is—how can creation start from the utter unity and eternal self-sufficiency of God? How is creation possible without finitude or limitation! If consciousness is the essence of all objects and there is only one divine consciousness, who is it that perceives limited objects! What limits the subject? How do limited subjects arise from the one infinite divine subject, and how are they deluded into perceiving a world of

finite objects outside themselves? The Śaiva answer is that God by His own freedom chooses to limit himself playfully as it were while remaining eternally unlimited This self-delimitation or *āṇava mala* creates finite subjects which then become subject to the force of *māyā*, at once transcendental illusion from the epistemological point of view and the creative power of God as pervading Nature from the cosmological point of view. Below this level lie the *tattvas* as elaborated by *Saṁkhya*. The transmigrating *jiva* already subject to *āṇava* and *māyā* is now wrapped in layers of *karman* which constitute the third kind of *mala* or limitation. The Śaiva theory of creation, thus, combines free self-limitation as its principle in the pure realm (*śuddhādhvā*) with determinism in the impure realm (*aśuddhādhvā*) subject to *māyā*. Creation as the self-limitation of the Divine is comparable to an actor's assumption of diverse roles at will. Ignorance itself is an expression of His freedom just as the sun creates clouds to cover itself. His freedom (*svātantrya*) is at once knowledge and action, the plenitude of self-consciousness (*pūrṇāhantā*).

Advaita in this system means the eternal harmony (*sāmarasya*) of two aspects of consciousness which are abstractly distinguished as Śiva and Śakti, the first two of the thirty-six *tattvas*. In Śiva the moment of *prakāśa* is dominant, in Śakti that of *Vimarśa*, but each remains latent in the other. Their perfect unity constitutes the highest principle, at once transcendent and immanent.

This conception of Advaita makes it possible to fuse *Jñāna* and *Bhakti* as spiritual means. The ultimate principle is not only knowledge but bliss, the source of devotion as *rasa*. *Bhakti* as worship and ritual belongs to the initial stage when the devotee has not yet realized his identity with the deity. After the dawn of such knowledge, however, devotion does not cease. God now becomes the object of love as one's own ultimate self, that on which one depends If knowledge leads to *śānta-bhāva* and to its peculiar quality of *niṣṭhā*, it also prepares the ground for *dāsya-bhāva*. This sense of dependence is characteristic of Śaiva devotion. It combines the love of God within a sense of unity thinly covered by a sense of playfully contrived distinction and duality. "Duality before enlightenment is delusive. Imaginatively constructed after knowledge for the sake

of love the sense of duality is lovelier than the sense of non-duality even. When the bliss of harmony arises the sense of duality is like ambrosia for the soul and God just as in the case of a loving couple[26]".

Kaviraj has not only argued for the inner connection of Śaṅkara's *advaita* with that of the Śaiva and Śakta tradition, he has also argued that the Kasmīra Śaiva philosophy itself has a dual origin in both the Vedic as well as the Āgamic tradition. *Nigama* and *Āgama* constitute the twin sources of Indian spiritual philosophies. Thus the influence of *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* etc., and of *Svacchanda, Mālinivijaya*, etc., may be seen on the *Pratyabhijña* system of which this particular designation appears to have been the contribution of Mādhāvācārya in his *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*. *Trika* and *Spanda* were other names for this system.

Kaviraj has pointed out certain striking similarities between this philosophical system from Kāśmīra and the Sufi philosophy. It is well known that there are two different schools among the modern historians of Sufism, some tracing in it the influence of Vedānta, others of Neoplatonism. By pointing out the similarities of Sufism to Kāśmīra Śaivism,[27] Kaviraj lends weight to the Vedāntic option. In fact, the principal objection to the hypothesis of Vedāntic influence lay in the absence of the element of love and ecstasy in classical Vedānta. This lacuna is easily filled if one turns to *Pratyabhijñā* system. The concept of creation as the expression of divine beauty and the primary role of light in it are also matched in this system.

If Kāśmīra Śaivism is purely non-dualistic, there were other forms of Śaivism which held different metaphysical views. Madhavācārya has referred to the Nakulīāśapāśupata, dualistic Śaiva and Raseśvara systems apart from the *Pratyabhijñā*. Still another system of great importance has been the Vīra Śaiva system of philosophy.[28] Kaviraj points out that "The Lingāyat philosophers are advocates of Viśiṣṭādvaita like Śrīkaṇṭha and the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas, and they have consequently to assume that Śakti as qualifying the supreme Reality is its eternal adjunct and never separable from it." The Śakti is two-fold including Light or *cit sakti* as well as its reflection or *acit sakti*. "The two names represent the two opposite aspects

of the same fundamental Power, so that the system does not recognize any inherent contradiction between Matter and "spirit". The communion of Jīva and Śiva, *anga* and *linga*, also represents a unity of distincts. "He is the worshipper and He is the worshipped—in fact, He is worshipping Himself through Himself. The universe, with all its activities, is an expresssion of His Self-delight, manifested in myriads of ways."

Despite the parallel between the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava view-points, there is a difference in the attitude with which each approaches God in relationship. "The true Śaiva is a devotee and a worshipper, but a Vaiṣṇava is nothing if not a lover. *Aiśvarya* or the sense of Divine Majesty prevails in the former, or divine fellowship in the latter. To the Śaiva *sādhaka* God *Mādhurya* reveals Himself as the Father, the Lord and the teacher, to the Vaiṣṇava He is the Friend and Beloved, and sometimes also the child."

If Śaṅkara's *Advaita* is the expression of pure monistic experience, of reality as the transcendent Self revealed in pure knowledge, and the Śaiva *Advaita* expresses a unified gnostic-cum-mystic experience where *jñāna* and *bhakti* are combined into one, the Vaiṣṇava schools are essentially devotional and mystical where *bhakti* is not a mere means but an end. Despite the diversity of the metaphysical systems elaborated by the different Vaiṣṇava schools--*Viśiṣṭādvaita*, *Dvaita*, *Dvaitādvaita*, *Śuddhādvaita*, or *Bhedābheda*—they all hold that the true nature of the individual soul is reflected in its total dependence on God who is the infinitely perfect and adorable person. Ignorance creates the sense of independence and its concomitant egoism and worldly passions in the soul. What knowledge does is to remove this false egoism and turn the soul towards God. *Sādhana bhakti* consisting of the performance of rites, prayer, worship, scriptural study, etc., as enjoined, helps the dispelling of Ignorance through the grace of God. The resultant *Jñāna*, however, does not constitute any final end, The emancipation of the soul from the toils of *saṁsāra* is only a negative and penultimate achievement. The enlightened and emancipated soul cannot be content with mere quiescence or *śānta-bhāva*. It becomes acutely aware of the overarching divine presence on which its whole being is dependent. It is inexorably led to

adore Him with love—"*bhajante mām budhā bhāvasamanvitāh*". The combination of the concepts of *bhāva* and *rasa* with that of *bhakti* and the formulation of *bhakti* as the 'fifth *puruṣārtha*, were the crowning achievements of the Vaiṣṇava schools. At the same time the great *Ācāryas* especially Rāmānuja and Madhva and their disciples fought the doctrines, of Śaṅkara, *Advaita* and *Māyā*, with logical weapons.

The origins of the Vaiṣṇava faith lay both in the Vedic as well as *Āgamic* literature. The *Gitā* and *Mahābhārata* show its early phase which developed in the *Pañcarātra Āgamas* and was nourished by the Āḷvārs The *Bhāgavata* and the *Bhakti sūtras* gave it a classical form. Nāthamuni sought to establish the authenticity of the *Āgamas* and to systematize the teachings of the Āḷvārs. The great *Ācāryas*, Rāmānuja, Madhva, Nimbárka, Vallabha, and the Gauḍīya Ācāryas, produced authoritative commentaries, polemical works and systematic digests in the pursuit of different schools. Kaviraj's historical sketch of the movement emphasises its antiquity and continuity and its indebtedness to both the Vedic and Āgamic Traditions. That the great *Ācāryas* belonged to the mediaeval period did not mean that they represented a new departure. They fulfilled an ancient tradition.

Between the *Saṁkhya*, *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* and *Advaita Vedānta* on the one hand, and the theistic schools on the other, a running difference will be noticed on the question of *Karman* versus Grace. The more ancient schools attributed the vicissitudes of human destiny to the force of *Karman*. The *Vedāntas·tras* regard God's creation itself as relative to *Karman*. Theism, on the other hand, increasingly emphasised the free Grace of God. One is tempted to suggest that this was perhaps partly due to the decline of the atheistic challenge of heterodox philosophies especially Buddhism.

Kaviraj was a profound student of Buddhism and reconstructed its diverse phases with great originality. On the origins of Buddhism he wanted it to be traced to the original experience of Buddha. On the origins and history of religious faith he believed that it cannot be adequately understood without taking metapsychic verities into account. He suggested that historically speaking the Buddha was clearly connected with the tradition of *Saṁkhya-Yoga* as also the *Upaniṣads*. He saw

a deep connection between Buddhism and the Upaniṣadic *Upāsanās* which emphasised *Jñāna-Yajña* in place of *Dravya-Yajña*. It is this Buddhist rejection of material sacrifices which has been given so much importance by modern social historians who unfortunately trace the working of economic rather than spiritual factors here.

Kaviraj further believed that while the details of Buddha's teachings were developed in the diverse schools differently, there were common basic principles latent in the original teaching itself which inspired this multifarious development. The *Mahāyānic* principle of the diversity of Buddha's teachings in relation to the diversity of understanding and tastes of the disciples was accepted by him as a fundamental truth which suggests the gradation of philosophies according to the diverse levels of spiritual experience. The basic doctrines of Mahāyāna too may be found in essentials in the original teaching. Nay, they may be traced back to the *Upaniṣads* themselves. This, indeed, was the reason why the Mahāyānic tradition in due course influenced the development of Vedānta.

It has been argued by many modern interpreters of Buddhism, including Ācārya Narendra dev, that Buddhism rejects 'gurudom' and stands for a free and rational search of the Truth by the individual. Kaviraj held that while Buddhism certainly encouraged the personal discovery of spiritual Truth, it nevertheless advocated the supreme importance of the *guru*.

Like Vivekānanda Kaviraj believed that *yoga* constitutes the continuing bedrock of Indian spirituality and hence of Indian philosophy. The basic principles and practices of *yoga* thus, are the common property of all the diverse schools. Buddhism was a *yogic* faith in ample measure. Buddha emphasised meditation repeatedly. From meditation comes intuitive knowledge (*prajñā*) which is similarly described in Buddhist and *Yoga* texts. In fact, there is considerable similarity between some *Sarvāstivāda* texts and the *Yoga-bhāṣya*. Like *yoga*, *tantra* too was the common property of diverse Indian schools. The principles of *guru*, *mantra* and *upāsanā* find a place in them in different ways. Their place in Vajrāyana is well known. But Kaviraj held that they had a place in Buddhism from the very start. Buddha himself was

the universal teacher and taking refuge in him was essential for becoming a Buddhist. Kaviraj also believed that the ancient practice of *Ānāpāna-sati* could not have been without a *bīja.*

The Mahāyānic principle of universal salvation finds an echo both in the *Yogabhāṣya* and in the Vedāntic principle of *sarvamukti.* Kaviraj believed that this too follows from the inexorable logic of spiritual sublimity. About the decline of Buddhism he mentioned diverse reasons but focussed attention principally on the absorption of Buddhist ideas in Hinduism and the fortuitous decline and destruction of the monasteries.

3

Nature and Structure of Philosophical Enquiry

Like Whitehead, Kaviraj conceived philosophy essentially as cosmology. He sought to ground it, however, not on the results of natural science but on those of spiritual science, *Yoga* and *Tantra*. He did not consider philosophy to be mere speculation going beyond the area of definite knowledge, nor motivated ideology, nor mere logical or linguistic enquiry which formed a strong component of traditional Indian philosophical systems. The early development of the science and philosophy of grammar in India had as fateful an effect on the development of Indian philosophy as the parallel development of axiomatic geometry in Greece had on Western philosophy. The study of the nature and function of language and the analysis of the meaning of 'meaning' gradually became an indispensable part of all philosophical systems. Similarly the study of formal logic and the critical study of the nature, sources and limits of knowledge also came to be regarded as necessary parts of philosophical enquiry. In effect, traditional Sanskrit philosophy came to value the formal precision and elegance of expression and the logical rigour of argumentation as much as substantive metaphysical or cosmological issues. In *Navya-Nyāya*, and through its influence in other systems, the language of philosophy came to overshadow its substantive intent. When Sanskrit learning was reorganized in Kāśi in the 19th century under British rule this system received the powerful endorsement of the official examination system. Even Kaviraj who was formally pursuing Sanskrit studies within the modern university system was advised to begin with the study of *Navya-*

Nyāya in the traditional manner under a celebrated Master. With full knowledge of the tradition from within, Kaviraj was not satisfied merely with its late formalism. He went back to its ancient foundations and at the same time sought to evaluate it in the light of the experience and knowledge of reality which formed the background of its analysis. He looked upon philosophy not as the analytical account of language and conceptual thought but as the science of metaphysical and metapsychic verities answering the questions which man has raised in all ages about his nature and destiny and providing a beacon light to the aspirations and endeavours of idealistic souls. He was fully aware of the conflicting diversity of philosophical opinions but did not despair of the possibility of a grand synthesis. Different philosophical opinions often seize upon partial aspects of a complex reality and within their limitations give expression to an element of truth. One may recall the famous parable of the seven blind men and the elephant, attributed by the *Udana* to Buddha. Besides, the experience which philosophical thought seeks to analyse, itself belongs to different levels. Asked about the conflicting opinions of different schools, Kaviraj often explained that these opinions were contraries rather than contradictions, once the technical concepts and usage of the different systems were adequately understood. His demonstrations were always a most amazing feat of scholarship and understanding. It may be recalled that dialectical thinkers like Hegel or the Jainas have held a somewhat similar attitude towards apparently contradictory philosophical opinions. But Kaviraj did not seek to create an overarching dialectical system of his own. He sought to uncover the dialectic proceeding from the hierarchy of spiritual levels and viewpoints and intimating the linkages of diverse philosophical systems.

Unending philosophical battles have raged on the issues of Word and Meaning, Universal and Particular, Knowledge and Reality, Truth and Error, Soul and Matter. Kaviraj sought to understand the rival sides by viewing them from the standpoint of spiritual quest. If the philosopher confines himself to the insights of common-sense and ordinary experience, his account of these matters is bound to be partial and unsatisfactory and would only invite a dialectically contradictory account. Where

the resolution of doubt requires the assumption of a higher viewpoint, mere analysis is bound to be inadequate. For example, take the question of Word and Meaning. As actual sound the 'word' has been called impermanent. As *varnānupūrvī* (sequence of phonemes) or as *sphoṭa*, it has been called eternal. Similarly 'meanings' have been ascertained to be real objects, immediate objects of experience, mental constructs, universals or particulars. These views presuppose diverse psychological, epistemological and metaphysical positions such as in Uddyotakāra and Kumārila, Dignāga and Dharmakīrti. These views take into account real features of natural languages and interpret them from different metaphysical viewpoints. But can natural language be fully understood in terms of articulate sounds, grammatical forms and structures and socially acquired conventional symbolization? Is not the ordinary human language merely the grossest expression on the socio-historic plane of a profound capacity latent in the psyche? The ancient grammarians had seen that beyond articulate speech lie the subtler languages of thought and intuition. It was, however, left to the *Tantraśāstra* to delve into the profound mysteries of language. The point is that an adequate philosophy of language cannot be constructed merely from the analysis of ordinary usages, empirical, scientific or poetic, such as 'Caitra is cooking', 'Bring the Cow', 'The pot is blue', or 'the student is fiery', or 'The moon does not shine like a mirror blinded by vapour, or "*Vṛddhi* is the technical name given to 'A', Ai' and 'Au'. It must also take into account the function of speech in thought and dreams, ritual and magic, intuition and revelation. In ordinary usage the connection of word and meaning seems to depend solely on convention directly or indirectly. Still the ancients widely believed in a 'natural', 'original', or divinely ordained connection between them, a view which has been discarded as irrational superstition in modern times. Can the philosopher of language proceed about his business without taking his stand on such issues? The creativity of words is recognized in poetry but it has been held that cosmic creation itself was associated with word. In fact, it has been held that regardless of conventionally given names, every basic natural element has a characteristic 'sound' as its 'seed'. The nature of word and meaning cannot be fully elucidated at the level of

Vaikhari, socially acquired and conventionally symbolized articulate speech. It requires that the nature of speech should be tracked to its psychic and metapsychic roots. What is given as word and meaning at the familiar, empirical level is merely the grossest manifestation of a process which begins with the emergence of creativity in pure consciousness.

Vaikhari is the form of speech with which ordinary social life is conducted. At its root lies the 'language' of thought called *madhyamā*, which makes interpersonal communication and translation from one language into another possible. *Madhyamā* itself arises from the intuitive level of *Paśyanti*, where seeing and speaking are identical. It corresponds at the cosmic level to *nāda*, '*śabda-brahman*', or *mahāmāyā*, beyond which lies the pure self-affirmation of the transcendent (*parā*). It has, of course, to be remembered that some ancient descriptions do not clearly distinguish between the *Paśyanti* and the *Parā*. For Kaviraj these different levels of speech were not speculative but attested by experience. He some times commented on how intuitive or revealed speech is automatically converted by the mind into its habitual conventional language.

It seems, thus, that the ultimate source of speech lies in the *Vimarśa* aspect of *Saṁvit* itself. From it evolves *Nāda* as the creative matrix of the universe. At the human level the intuitive faculty is obscured by the divisive and constructive faculty of thought which is expressed in terms of structured, articulate sounds. It would follow that meanings are not independent of words and words are an expression of consciousness.

This view of the continuum of speech from the transcendent to the gross empirical level suggests a solution to the age-old dilemma: is the highest truth communicable in words? If not, does it not imply agnosticism? These questions have been raised in different forms in different ages. For example, it has been argued recently that religious language is non-cognitive, which itself has been taken to mean that it is non-sensical, or that it is emotive, or that it is metaphorical or mythical. The *Upaniṣads* had stated that *Brahman* is beyond speech or thought, and yet they had enjoined that one should learn about *Brahman* by hearing from the seers. The Buddhists had declared the Truth unequivocally beyond speech and thought and yet the Buddha agreed after

initial reservations to preach the Law. The *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* held that words are coterminous with knowledge. Bhartṛhari declared that there can be no ideas without words, Dharmakīrti that all concepts and judgments involve verbalization. The *advaita* tradition held that True knowledge may arise from hearing scriptural pronouncements which are held to function through *jahadajahallakṣaṇā*.

Now words in ordinary language can only give indirect and conceptual knowledge or carry an emotive or practical message. They can help to wean the mind away from wrong views and direct it to the right path. True knowledge, however, has to be intuitive and intuition transcends the conceptually structured language of empirical usage. Nevertheless, this intuitive knowledge is different from the primary sense immediacy in as much as it has a self-affirming and self-defining capacity of its own so that although non-conceptual, it is not vague. At the highest level it has the indubitability of self-knowledge.

Articulate sounds, concepts and logical structure are indispensable at the level of *Vaikhari* and *Vikalpa* but not at the higher levels of 'language' or intuitive knowledge. This also settles the question of the role of logical thought in the knowledge of Truth. Most of the Indian schools of philosophy hold that the highest knowledge cannot be gained through sense perception or inference and that it requires the aid of revealed or intuitive knowledge. This position is not the result of dogmatic faith but arises from the realization that human experience is not limited to sense perception. Logical thought, again, can only be abstract, analytical and relative to some point of view. The fulness of truth can only be revealed in an integral, intuitive experience.

It is worth mentioning here that Kaviraj was once asked about Russel's view that logic is the essence of philosophy and in particular as to what he thought of the philosophical relevance of the development of symbolic logic. His answer was that while logic is an admirable branch of learning which had attracted him once and while philosophers have always been required to be trained in logic and must respect logical consistency in philosophical argumentation, it could not be said that modern logic had achieved more spectacular success in solving or resolving the great problems of philosophy than the earlier

systems of logic. Symbolic Logic has had a fruitful connection with Mathematics and similar disciplines but the same cannot be said of its connection with Philosophy.[1] This is, of course, not to question that the bulk of philosophical writing consists of argumentation and that logical rigour and elegance are highly prized in them. But the point is that Philosophy is not a purely formal discipline like Mathematics or Logic. Philosophy is traditionally supposed to lead to wisdom and transform one's vision of life.

The problem which philosophy must inevitably consider first is the problem of the Self. '*Ātmānaṁ Viddhi*' (Know thyself) must remain ever-inscribed on the portals of philosophical enquiry. Once a brilliant though agnostically inclined scholar went to meet Kaviraj on being appointed to the Benares Hindu University and said that he hoped to serve mankind through the promotion of learning in his chosen discipline. Kaviraj remarked on the impossibility of serving anyone aright without knowing his nature, needs and possibilities adequately. To serve mankind a man must acquire true self-knowledge in the first instance. To serve a sick man you must know the nature of his sickness and the art of healing. To know what ails man, one must know what constitutes his real and uncorrupted nature.[2]

To discover the nature of the Self, we must start with concrete, empirical self-consciousness rather than with some abstracted kind of self-consciousness such as of the Self which thinks or of the Self which is a social object. We would otherwise come to regard the Self as a 'synthetic apperception', or 'focus imaginarius,' or as social animal. On the other hand, concrete empirical self-conscious consists, as Śaṅkarācārya stated in a famous passage, of the mutually superimposed notions of the subject and the object. 'I am' and 'my body', thus, appear inseparably united. The Masters of *Saṁkhya*, *Vedānta* and Buddhism recommend that one should meditatively realize the radical exclusion of the 'body' from the awareness of 'I am'. Kaviraj remarks that the search for the transcendental self in any case involves the recognition of the diverse levels and forms of the body even for their meditative negation[3]. The enquirer into the Self must not despise the body but seek to penetrate its essence. The 'body' is the principle of mediation in

self-consciousness at all levels except at the highest transcendent level of wholly immediate or self-mediated consciousness where the infinite potentialities of being remain eternally identical with it in an undifferentiated and unmanifested state. The movement of creation is one of apparent self-diremption of consciousness from being and the manifestation of potentialities through the self-imposition of limitations and the action of the Primal creative power (*Mahāmāyā*), Time or Logos (*Nāda*, *Śabdabrahman*). Below the Pure Realms of creation, when the principle of illusion (*māyā*) is added to that of limitation, the subject-object differentiation is bridged by the mutual superimposition characteristic of Nescience. This superimposition is characteristic of empirical self-consciousness.

This radical nescience is generally described as the 'Causal body, which is the vehicle of consciousness in the state of deep sleep. Self-consciousness here takes the form 'I was not aware of anything', 'I was asleep', 'I slept like a log', 'I slept peacefully,' etc. It may be described as the primal state of the Unconscious in which nevertheless the flow of time and *Karman* continues and the reemergence of consciousness from it projects it into a new phase of passive experiencing. This could take place in an inward level of phantasy or imagination which may be seen in dreams or reveries or the flow of ideas in disembodied beings. Here the vehicle of consciousness includes the faculties of experiencing and their objects in subtle form. This vehicle is usually termed the 'subtle body' or *linga* and is the medium of transmigration. The ordinary waking consciousness of the outside world, which alone is regarded as veridical by common-sense, rests on the active identification of the self with the 'gross body', i.e. the body composed of 'compounded matter' (*pañcikṛta bhūta*) This physical self-consciousness on the human level is characterized by the capacity of voluntary action, the source of *Karman* That is why the human world is called *karma-loka* while all the other eighty-four lakh types of animal species (*yoni*) are merely *bhoga-yonis* where passive experience but no voluntary action is possible. Besides these three types of natural bodies, there are various supernatural bodies such as *Mahākāraṇa* or *Baindavadeha*, *Haṁsadeha*, or *Bhāvadeha*. Consciousness and its vehicle exist in different forms at different levels.

Gnostic traditions like *Saṁkhya* which emphasise the pure transcendence of spiritual being, see a radical difference between 'spirit' and 'matter' and this is popularly reflected in a kind of negative spirituality which deprecates the body and culminates in what has been dubbed as 'soteriological egoism'. Kaviraj did not favour this. Negativistic gnosticism treats the relationship of the spirit and the body as accidental and meaningless. Creation itself becomes unintelligible. The spirit is known in self-consciousness, but why is this self-consciousness always 'mediated'? Why does the principle of pure sentience require an other to be itself?. And will not the radical otherness and insentience of matter open it to the idealistic criticism that matter in that case will have an intrinsically unknowable nature and could even be dispensed with except as whatever constitutes the causal constraint on consciousness? The radical separation of spirit and matter jeopardizes the reality of both That they are given as distinct but connected, points to their profound unity.

This unity cannot be understood on a naturalistic hypothesis. Aristotle had pointed out that the nature of a thing is understood in terms of its *telos*. Since Nature is the matrix of the evolution of the Mind, how is the essence of Nature to be understood in terms of matter rather than Mind? Many schools of Indian philosophy have perceived that the principle of human intelligence has two distinct aspects. Consciousness is nothing if it is not the eternal subject to which all changes and objects are referred. At the same time consciousness is a flow of ideas which have a reference apparently beyond themselves. The witnessing self, the moving mind and the world which it represents and interprets, are the three irreducible minima into which human experience reduces itself for analysis. The connection of the three in terms of the law of *karman* is well recognized. The self identified with the mind becomes the *bhoktā*, the individual mind and its characteristic world-situation including the body are brought together by past *karman* to facilitate its fruition. Whether it is the body or the cosmos, *piṇḍa* or *brahmāṇḍa*, they are formed for the spirit which is embodied and takes birth to realize the force of past *karman* or voluntary action. Human will and purpose are, thus, recognized traditionally as underlying the

constitution of the body and the universe. Matter has no purpose nor any spontaneous motion of its own but it exists to help the realization of human purposes and derives its motion ultimately from the pressure of unfulfilled human purposes. This is at the root of the passivity, plasticity and impressed motion of matter.[4]

Matter belonging to Nature, being subject to time, change and corruption, is held generally to be impure or defiled and the means through which the soul is bound in the snare of desires, experience and action. The existence of pure, undefiled or supernatural matter (*viśuddha sattva*, *aprākṛta* or *anāśrava rūpa*) has been postulated in several systems and Kaviraj emphasised it as something essential for the understanding of matter. The causal, subtle and gross bodies are constituted by impure matter which serves to unveil as well as obscure the Self. As mentioned earlier the function of the 'body' is to be at once a counterfoil and accessory to the Self, just as the mirror is to the face seeking to behold itself. Impure matter and bodies constituted out of it function like dirty and distorting mirrors so that the Self in becoming conscious of itself through their mediation acquires a self-image which is illusory.

Pure matter, on the other hand, does not obscure the true nature of the Self although it responds to its latent will and manifests diverse pure worlds of forms and objects. Although subject to differentiation and spontaneous self-limitation within the Pure Sphere (*śuddhādhyā*), the Self, nevertheless, remains free from the impurities of illusion and corruption. Whether this pure matter is distinct from sentience or identical with it or its own power, has been debated. It follows, in any case, that not only have body and mind a common source in nature but nature itself is the result of spiritual creativity or involution. The Self, thus, is not to be discovered through a mere negation of the body or through the sinking of consciousness in a passive trance. Far from being accidental, the body is an indispensable means to the fulfilment of the soul's destiny, '*Śarīramādyam khalu dharma sādhanam*'. The gnostics's rejection of the body and his conception of the soul's 'bloodless' salvation are as inadequate as the materialist's failure to see the subtle forms and origins of the gross body. Not all matter is sensuous or external to the

mind, nor is consciousness necessarily passive or powerless with respect to matter. Spiritual reality constitutes a vast continuum extending in numerous grades from the one transcendent self-consciousness to the earth-bound consciousness of mankind. The search for the self is not an ego-delimited psychological enquiry. It is the quest for the spirit through the cosmos, an all-encompassing scientific quest into the nature of reality. The self is not a vacuous subject nor one object among others. Nor is it an illusion, a construct or a mode of speaking. It is the beacon which serves to guide the spiritual voyager.

The first intimation of the self is reached in the human body mixed up with bodily awareness. For countless births, and deaths, however, man treats the awareness of the self as subsidiary to the pursuit of pleasures and external objects in which it is almost entirely consumed. "The world is too much with us." Gradually, however, with the growth of inner maturity or *mala-pāka* man becomes aware of the elusive nature of the self which he is all the time seeking to satisfy by external goods and their transient experience but in vain. "*Na vittena Trapaṇīyo manuṣyaḥ*"[5] (man cannot be satisfied by wealth or gain). "*Yan nu ma iyam bhogo sarvā pṛthivī vittena pūrṇā syāt katham tenāmṛtā syām*"[6] (If, sir, the whole earth were full of wealth, shall I gain immortality thereby?). As man becomes aware of the impossibility of satisfying desires—"*samudra iva hi kāmaḥ*"—of the transience of pleasures, and of the shadow of death looming over life all the time, the familiar pursuits of life lose their enchantment. Disillusioned with the world, he becomes increasingly aware of the question, 'who am I?' (*Koham*).

This quest cannot be answered in the Faustian manner, neither by the magical power of the science of Mephistopheles, nor by the social morality of draining swamps and building bridges. The course of natural evolution having culminated with man, and man having gained the freedom of voluntary and individual action and thus entered the 'crooked' pathways of *karman*, can the future course of human evolution be adequately foreseen. Does it lie as has been generally averred in many old traditions merely in individual spiritual pilgrimage towards individual salvation, or does it lie in the social development of man's natural faculties and cultural life as is generally believed

now-a-days? Or does it lie, as Kaviraj believed in the eventual supervention of a greater spiritual destiny for mankind as a whole, i e. in the spiritual transformation of human nature and universal salvation? He has argued that such an idea is basic to Buddhism, Vedānta, Yoga and some Āgamic schools. He advocated this idea as ardently as Sri Aurobindo. The Buddhist ideal of *Bodhisattva* was oriented towards the *nirvāṇa* of all beings. *Mahāprajña* needs to be cultivated so that the lotus of *Mahākaruṇā* may bloom The world of the future Buddha Maitreya would be 'golden', i.e. transfigured. In Vedānta the principle of *sarvamukti* is well known. The identity of *Jīva* and *Brahman* presupposes that individuality is a delusive appearance. How, then, can emancipation be with reference to one individual only? Kaviraj believed like the Mahāyānists that the so-called liberation of the individual is only an interim stage. He did not believe that individuality is totally unreal. In fact, he held that individuality does not disappear even after merging in *Brahman*. Nevertheless the distinction of spiritual individuals is wholly compatible with their unity in terms of *Brahman* and their common ultimate destiny in terms of spiritual transfiguration. In the *Yoga bhāṣya* it is clearly stated that God has resolved to liberate all beings at the time of dissolution. In many Āgamic schools the transformation of human nature is held possible. Not onlyps ychic suffering, but Time and Death may be conquered and man may acquire direct control over natural powers. Although the gnostics and philosophers interpreted immortality metaphorically as the realization of the transcendent eternity of the spirit, Kaviraj believed that the whole purpose of *yoga* really is to conquer Time rather than to merely realize that the Transcendent is eternally transcendent! Destructive Change is connected with Time and Matter in the world subject to *Māyā* but the possibility of their transfiguration is already foreshadowed in the structure of the Pure Realm (*Śuddhādhvā*). But the human ideal in time is not a reversion to what has been already created or to the wholly uncreated. Human transfiguration has to preserve human individuality, freedom and the capacity for love or *bhāva*. At the same time it requires the conquest and Transformation of Nature. Human effort and the eternal Grace of God co-operate coincidentally. What is viewed as *mala-pāka*

or *karma-sāmya* from below is the same as the *ahaituki kṛpā* of the Lord from above.

It would be already clear that the process which would transfigure man is essentially spiritual, not one based on social or scientific technology. This is not to decry the role of social or technical change. Many social movements have been motivated by some form of idealism or the other and have helped the recognition and institutionalization of such values as human dignity, individuality and freedom, love, compassion, non-violence and justice. Nevertheless in the absence of spiritual self-knowledge they have been limited and perverted by egoism and fanaticism, hatred and violence, anarchy and tyranny. Social improvement requires not merely ideology and institutionalization but an effective spiritual education which presupposes spiritually enlightened educators. This spiritual creativity has to be kept alive and taken forward in individual *praxis* and is killed if it is treated as some kind of social conformity in behaviour. Individual *praxis* provides the point of application for spiritual leverage in human improvement. Such *praxis* presupposes the eligibility of the spiritually aspiring individual who should have high moral qualities and *kārmic* maturity. The grace of the spiritual teacher acting as the channel of divine grace itself is the next requisite. Initiation into the process of *yoga* is the beginning of spiritual *praxis* itself. The individual search for self-knowledge and salvation is now joined to the cosmic design of human redemption which is not something to be effected by human will, planning or organization. In entering the spiritual path and leaving behind his egoistic pursuits the individual enters on a supra-individual cosmic enterprize which is directed by God as the universal teacher.

The problem of the self is, thus, veritably cosmic. Full selfhood or *pūrṇāhantā* belongs to the transcendent Divine and man's search for himself necessarily involves not only a personal spiritual search of the individual but its inevitable integration with the redemptive plan of the gracious divinity. Just as the scientist's search for natural principles keeps moving forward through the ages, rendering systems of natural philosophy obsolete, and tying together individual efforts and collective conditions, similarly the search for the self initiates an

ever-deeper process of spiritual exploration. The eternity of truth is compatible with its gradual unfoldment and the truth of spiritual philosophies is relative to the depth of experience which they seek to express and analyse.

It would be noticed from the foregoing that the reality of God is central to Kaviraj's cosmological exposition of the nature of the Self. This is more in tune with the mediaeval rather than the classical formulations of most of the ancient philosophical systems. Thus the idea of God is irrelevant to *Sāṁkhya* and Mīmāṁsā and generally held to be minor in *yoga*. Even the *Vaiśeṣika* is believed to have been indifferent to God in the earlier stage of its development. In the strictly illusionistic system of Advaita, again, God ceases to be ultimate. Even in the *Nyāya* which has been the champion defender of the idea of God, His action is mostly limited to the imparting of motion to the independently existing atoms. It was in the *Āgamic* schools--Śaiva, Śākta, and Vaiṣṇava—that the idea of God played a central role and Kaviraj largely followed this direction.

He argued that belief in God like belief in any other entity claiming existence arises from the natural receptivity of the simple or uncritical mind to an affirmation made for its benefit.[7] For example, hearing of the ghost in the tree the young child immediately comes to believe in it and even to feel its reality. The belief in God also is acquired by and large in a similar manner with the difference that in this case it is arguable that God is not a fictitious but a real entity. Belief in the truthfulness of the affirmations of scriptures, prophets and seers is the commonest ground for the belief in God to be true. Although diverse rational arguments have also been traditionally advanced to support this belief, it must be admitted that they can hardly be regarded as sufficient to induce the belief in an otherwise critical mind. Even theistic philosophers have not always found these arguments adequate. For example, Rāmānuja has not accepted the validity of the cosmological argument.[8] Kaviraj, however, suggests arguments of a different kind. Science has increasingly confirmed the principle of the uniformity of nature. What is the source of this overarching necessity which gives coherent laws to the universe? The forces or energies which work in nature are interconnected and known to be mostly at least

interconvertible. These causal forces are regarded by the scientists as inesentient in themselves but the fact is that they have a mysterious relationship with willpower. Properly trained, the willpower of man is known to exercise control over bodily and extra-bodily forces. How could this be possible without an underlying unity between them? Kaviraj alludes to the *Āgamic* principle of the unity of all causal forces and their identity with the one supreme will, "*Ekaiva sā mahāśaktiḥ*", "*Icchā śaktir Umā kumāri*"[9] God is the source of such a will.

Another argument which Kaviraj suggests is the fact that occasionally we can acquire a sure knowledge of the future. This is impossible unless our mind could attain a momentary identity with a timeless consciousness that immediately apprehends the subtle or causal realm of reality. Such a consciousness can only be of God and communion with it is implied in the knowledge of the future.

In fact, the very procession of temporal flux necessarily presupposes an eternal consciousness which can only be of God and with which our individual consciousnesses must be connected foundationally for us to apprehend the flux of time

While these purely logical arguments may be disputed, there is no disputing of the personal experiences of miraculous grace which constitute the most effective proof of the existence of God.

The fact is that the real question is not so much of the existence of God as of the nature of God. God has been conceived in two distinct ways—as the originator, maintainer and destroyer of the universe on the one hand, and on the other, as the source of bondage and emancipation. These are the five functions in terms of which the *Āgamas* conceive of the Lord, viz., *sṛṣṭi*, *sthiti*, *saṁhāra*, *tirodhāna* and *anugraha*. In the last of these viz., in the bestowing of grace God does not act by any causal necessity but wholly by His spontaneous freedom. It is the experience of this grace of God rather than any causally or logically perceived sense of dependence which turns man to God who is not ultimately an other but man's own innermost self. There can be an illusion or mistake in the knowledge of some other or in knowing oneself mediately. How can there be a mistake in recognizing one's own self immediately, even though this immediacy is not reached easily or at once? The whole process

of creation, bondage and liberation is such that the One, eternally changeless, yet becomes Many and returns to itself self-consciously and infinitefold.

To recapitulate, for Kaviraj philosophy is the rational attempt to understand the mysteries of life on the basis of experience in the widest sense including intuition, revelation and tradition. It presupposes not only critical doubt but also spiritual yearning and sensitivity. Even so philosophy is always relative to a given point of view of enquiry and a given level of experience and knowledge. The self according to Kaviraj is the immanent and transcendent reality increasingly revealed in evolving self-consciousness and properly understood only in its fullest development which is the ideal end of the spiritual pilgrimage. Matter is essentially the principle of objectivity and mediation for self-consciousness and functions as the vehicle for its expression and for its bondage or liberation according to whether it is impure or pure. Causality is in essence nothing but the operation of the will, ultimately and radically divine. God is the ultimate Self, functioning in Time according to His laws, and bestowing grace freely.

The whole structure of Kaviraj's philosophical views rests on the belief in a distinctive faculty of spiritual intuition.[10] It is reported that once Sādhu Shāntinātha who was a celebrated scholar and agnostic met Kaviraj and wanted a *śāstrārtha* with him. Sādhu Shāntināth argued that neither perception nor reasoning could establish the existence of a divine reality. Kaviraj merely remarked that Sādhu apparently did not believe in any innate faculty of knowledge in the soul, without which no spiritual reality could ever be established. "In the history of philosophical thought in India one very often meets with the problem which starts from a sense of the inadequacy of intellectual powers and points to the necessity of recognising a distinct faculty for the exploration of phenomena beyond the range of these powers. . .It might be called the supersensuous and supra-rational apperception, grasping truth directly." This faculty has been called *pratibhā* or *prajñā*. It indicates a kind of knowledge "which is not sense-born nor of the nature of an inference". It may be distinguished as lower or higher. "The phenomena of ordinary clairvoyance and telepathy are instances of the former, while the latter kind is represented in the

supreme wisdom of the saint." This supersensuous knowledge is characterized by its immediacy and intense clarity. It is free from the limitations of time and space. It dispenses with the need of the sense organs and ratiocination. "It reveals the past and the future as in a single flash, and also the absent and the remote. Nothing escapes its searching light. It is aptly described as simultaneously illuminating every aspect and as eternal (*Yogasūtras*, III. 84)." Although diverse systems of Indian philosophy have discussed the nature of such intuitive knowledge, it is the systems of *Yoga* and *Tantra* which are best known for their exposition of the nature and pathway to intuition. It is for his mastery of the theory and practice of *yoga* and *tantra* that Kaviraj came to be known best in later years.

Those aspects of philosophy which are largely dependent on verbal and logical formulation and have perennially issued in well known dialectical positions, came to interest Kaviraj less and less. He tended to move away from the usual analytical concerns of professional philosophers who today rely on natural science and common-sense for their knowledge of reality. He viewed philosophy as essentially spiritual philosophy which seeks to give an account of the vast and subtle reaches of supernormal experience attained through *yoga* and *tantra*. In the expositions of Kaviraj the obscurities and enigmas which fill *yogic* and *tantric* writings acquire a wholly new aspect, luminous albeit mysterious.

4

The Science of Yoga

Swami Vivekānanda once said, "To the student of religion almost ninety-nine per cent of the books and thoughts of religion are mere speculations. . . . You do not speculate that way in Physics, Chemistry, and Mathematics. Why cannot the science of religion be like any other science?"[1] *Yoga,* indeed, constitutes such a science. This was eighty-seven years ago. Since then a certain amount of interest in *yoga* has been developed among the academics in India and abroad, but it stresses rather the physical and therapeutic aspects of *yoga.* It is even more necessary to emphasise the role of *yoga* in relation to the insight which it can give into the nature of reality. Kaviraj says that the very existence or possibility of transcendent life is often more a matter of pious belief than of sincere conviction. "The knowledge of a higher life than what is ordinarily presented to us cannot be possible unless and until our general outlook is widened in consequence of the inner awakening due to *yoga.*"[2] "India has always asserted. . . that it is exclusively in *yoga* that one can find the key to the solution of all the problems of life and mind as well as to the realisation of the supreme end of existence"[3] *"Ayam tu paramo dharmo yad yogenātma-darśanam".*[3a]

The trouble with *yoga* is that its very popularity has spread misconceptions about it. What ordinarily passes for *yoga* is if "not a travesty of the great science. . . at least a faint semblance, mostly artificial, of a rudimentary aspect of the complex psycho-physical discipline which in itself represents only a fragment of the true way to *yoga* proper."[4]

As is well known, "*yoga*" means union or yoking or joining together. In the most general sense it may be interpreted

as the union of the lower with the higher, of the *apara* with the *para*. *Kaṭhopaniṣad* and the *Gīta* give a hierarchy of principles. The senses, the objects, the mind, intelligence or reason (*buddhi*), *mahān atma, āvyakta*, and *puruṣa* are, thus, mentioned as the ascending series of principles in the *Kaṭhopaniṣad.*[5] The *Gita* mentions the senses, the mind, *buddhi* and *ātman* as the ascending principles.[6] The *Upaniṣad* says that men are extroverts by the very nature of the senses which turn towards external objects. "*Parañci Khāni vyatṛṇāt svayambhū*". Wisdom consists in withdrawing the senses into the mind, the mind into the luminous intelligence, that into the universal or cosmic self and that in turn into the quiescent self. The *Gīta* refers to the transcending of the lower principles to reach the highest in stages. Consciousness and reality constitute a vast and hierarchical continuum. *Yoga* is the science of consciousness enabling human consciousness to ascend to higher levels. At each stage of the ascent there is a union of the lower with the higher, which is also a detachment from the lower still.

"*Yoga* is really the establishment of identity, at least of communion, between the individual self (*Jīvātman*) and the universal self (*Paramātman*), which presupposes a corresponding relation on the lower planes of existence, viz., between the mind and the individual self, between the senses and the mind and between the objects and the senses. The individual (self) cannot realize its eternal affinity with the universal or merge itself in it, unless it can get over the influence of the mind with which it falsely identifies itself. In the same way, the absorption of the mind in the quiet awareness of the Self is not possible so long as, through concentration and consequent self-effacement, it has not got rid of the distracting power of the senses over it. On the lowest level, similarly, the senses cannot calm down and attain to unity with the mind until they are free from the action of the objects of the world outside. All the principles are thus found to be arranged in a concatenated series. In the lowest stage of spiritual perfection, therefore, *yoga* may be described in a language which would represent it as the withdrawal of the senses from the external world and their convergence in the mind Ascending a step higher up, one would find it in the suspension of the modalities of the mind itself and its consequent unity as it were, with the individual self, from which it

appears as distinct only through its workings. When the mind ceases to be active its distinctness as an entity vanishes altogether."[7] This represents the final stage in the system of Patañjali However, this leaves the individual in isolation as it were. It is only when the barriers of this isolation are broken down in the Pure Self as a radiant, eternally self-aware existence of Joy in which the two aspects of its being appear as united in an eternal embrace of lineffable sweetness, that *yoga* is fulfilled in the truest sense of the word. Thus *Yoga* begins as detachment from sensuous life, which leads to mental concentration and contemplation. Detachment from the mind leads to the solitude of the individual self whose communion with the Divine will constitutes the final stage of the process.

Yoga, thus, is the science of consciousness or of the mind conceived in the broadest sense extending from the biomotor or vital energy working in the body to the luminous stuff of pure intelligence (*Viśuddha sattva*). Since consciousness at each level is correlated with a specific kind of reality, the science of *yoga* is also by implication a science of reality. It is not a merely theoretical science (*vidyā, siddhānta*) but also a practical science or technology (*sādhana*). It is a science in the sense that it is a dispassionate search for truth and a technology in the sense that it provides a method for the transformation of the mind or consciousness.

It may be objected that the method of *yoga* is introspective, a method already rejected by the modern science of psychology. It has been argued that even such supposedly subjective facts as "pain" are nothing but behavioural sets or propensities, that the mind is nothing but a *deus ex machina*. Since bodies and bodily behaviour are the only reality, there can be no other scientific method except that of observation. If 'mind' or 'consciousness' are nothing but delusive words, the whole enterprize of *yoga* would appear misguided.

Such radical objections can only be answered in an equally radical manner. Since the reality of the mind or consciousness is manifest to every one who seeks to question it, the questioner must have in mind some metaphysical concept of the mind rather than its self-evident reality. Besides, no description of bodily states or conditions is in the least like any thought one entertains mentally. The objections of behaviourist psychology

would, thus, appeal only to those who are committed to the extremely uncritical metaphysical position of dogmatic materialism. In fact, to see the limitations of naturalistic psychology one could turn to the science of pure transcendental phenomenology.

Granting the undeniable reality of the mind, one might still object that in trying to observe one's own mind, one is likely to alter its content, as has been shown in psychoanalysis. Besides, a good deal of the mind is likely to remain hidden as the unconscious. These are valid difficulties, but they have been systematically concountered and overcome in *yogic* practice which presupposes a healthy and integrated personality with a high degree of detachment from personal concerns and prejudices.

Limitations of *Yoga* have also been pointed out by the advocates of rival traditional methods of spiritual life. A great deal of *Yoga*, thus, appears to be some form of activity initiated and controlled by the individual. For the advocates of knowledge (*jñāna*) or devotion (*bhakti*) it could, thus, only be an accessory helping the purification or strengthening of the mind. In particular, much of *yoga* is here taken as a continuation of what was earlier called *Antaryaga* or *Upāsana*, i.e. mental or meditative worship through the use of symbols of diverse kinds. It was admitted that such worship implied the concentration of the mind and at the same time elevated and purified it. If the meditation implied one-pointed devotion to God, it could lead to His grace. If it were on the true nature of the Self, it could prepare the ground for the emergence of spontaneous illumination. These objections, however, misconstrue the nature of *yoga*. *Kriyā yoga* or the *yoga* of action is a preliminary part of *yoga* though it is of great consequence. Similarly devotion to God is also one of the practices recommended in the *Yogasūtras*. These in themselves do not constitute the essential nature of *yoga* *Yoga* as a process is the ascent of consciousness from the lower to the higher involving its simultaneous detachment and re-integration. This process can use various kinds of means and these are sometimes used to designate a particular type of *yoga* Thus *hatha-yoga* purifies, concentrates and harmonizes the biomotor or *Prāṇic* energy. *Rāja-yoga* or *Dhyāna-yoga* withdraws, concentrates and channelizes the flow of consciousness.

Like ordinary light ordinary consciousness too is distracted and incoherent. When rendered coherent it acquires a laser-like quality and easily penetrates the nature of any object on which it is concentrated. Its level rises from that of sensation, imagination or analysis to that of intuition.

Although Patañjali has treated *japa* or *svādhyāya* as a *kriyā-yoga* only, later practice has confirmed that *japa* is a fully adequate method for inducing and sustaining the *yogic* process from the lowest to the highest stage. Kaviraj insisted on the antiquity and ubiquity of *japa.* He also held that *Praṇava* in the context of *Īśvara-Praṇidhāna* meant not merely *Praṇava* but really any *mantra* obtained from the spiritual teacher (*guru-datta-mantra*). In different stages of *Dhyāna* different grades of the word are to be found, from the gross word in the *savitarka* to the Seeing (*Paśyanti*) Word in the perfection of *nirvicāra* culminating in *Prajñā.*

Laya-yoga, Nādānusandhāna, Kuṇḍalinī-yoga, Siddha-yoga, etc., offer diverse variations on the basic theme of *Yoga.* They differ in their starting points and emphasis only. *Kuṇḍalinī-yoga* combines *Yogic* and *Tāntric* practices and represents a vast symbolic system in several variants. The mind has a sky-like nature, bright and empty, (*bhāsvaram ākāśakalpam*). To the extent it is withdrawn from external objects, it may be said to enter the straight path of emptiness or *suṣumna.* It works usually through the dialectical pair of affirmation and negation. The suspension of these tendencies has also been described as the attainment of emptiness. In emptiness the ordinary sounds arising from the impact of air, the phonetic elements of the spoken language are suspended and replaced by the eternally humming echo or *nāda.* By attending to it the mind is increasingly dissolved.

The distinction between *samprajñāta* and *asamprajñāta yoga* is important. The Buddhist distinction of *Pratisaṁkhyā-nirodha* and *apratisaṁkhyā nirodha* was held by Kaviraj to be similar. *Yoga* is often described as the cessation of mental modes—*Citta-Vṛtti-nirodha.* This cessation, however, may occur in two different ways. It may arise from some kind of physiological or psychological causes. It is then called *bhava-pratyaya*[8] and should not be called *Yoga* at all. On the other hand, when *Yoga* is the result of Means or *upāya*, it is called *upāya-pratyaya.* These

upāyas are *śraddhā*, *virya*, *smṛti*, *samādhi* and *prajña*. When *asamprajñāta* follows *samprajñāta*, only then can it be *yoga* in the true sense of the word. Behind the modal changes of the mind lies the force of desire and that itself arises from primordial ignorance. Unless the force of ignorance is removed the force of desire cannot be removed and without that the cessation of mental modalities cannot be final. By the mere practice of mental stillness and determined abstention from pursuing the promptings of desire, one may reach a state of apparent quiescence and if one dies in this condition one could attain a state of suspended animation, so to say. This would not, however, constitute a permanent or ultimately valuable state. The desired end is not merely negative end certainly not non-eternal.

While it is agreed on all hands that the attainment of knowledge in indispensable for the final success of *yoga*, the nature of knowledge in this context has been the subject of metaphysical dispute. It is of course generally accepted that this knowledge must imply the discrimination of self and non-self, though the Buddhists are often supposed to have stated that it merely means the realization of the non-selfhood of 'everything'. But even then the question arises, "what does 'everything' mean?" A well known answer is that 'everything' means the twelve *āyatanas*, i.e. the senses including the mind and their objects. In effect, then, here too knowledge means the knowledge of the non selfhood of all physical and mental phenomena. The deidentification of the self with them would naturally lead to its state of *Kaivalya* or solitude. This is certainly a state of irreversible *apavarga* or cessation of *saṁsāra*. Quite a few classical systems regarded this as the end of spiritual aspiration and discipline. *Sāṁkhya*, *Pātañjala yoga*, *Nāyya-Vaiśeṣika*, Hīnayāna Buddhist schools, all of them regarded the state of emancipation as one of the total isolation or even negation (in the case of the Sautrāntikas) of the emancipated individual. This was, however, questioned by the Mahāyānists, Pasupatas, Śaivas, Śaktas, Bhagavatas and many Advaita Vedāntins. Kaviraj was clearly on this side. He argued that this isolation of the soul was only a stage in its spiritual journey when it was freed from the taint of wordly passions and its

own *karmans* but had not yet attained its own natural powers and supernatural status. The destruction of *kliṣṭa ajñāna* does not in fact entail the destruction of *akliṣṭa ajñāna*. The Mahāyāna, for example, believed that the cultivation of pure knowledge and powers was indispensable for the Bodhisattva's role as a saviour. For Kaviraj spiritual being is one and indivisible although it is capable by its own infinite power and freedom to engage in the *līlā* of creation and emancipation. As the ignorance of the individual soul disappears it must realize its solidarity with all other souls in the progress towards the realization of divinity. In other words, the process of *yoga* is not merely one of apparent detachment and contraction but of unification, perfection and expansion. It also means that the process of *yoga* in its essence is not merely one of ascent but also of descent, a point which was emphasized so much by Sri Aurobindo. Kaviraj expounded his own ideas on the subject in his celebrated but admittedly difficult work, *Akhaṇḍa Mahāyoga*.

Through the ages the human spirit has sought victory over Time in its quest of immortality and perfection. Diverse esoteric ways have been formulated from time to time but while individuals have claimed to have attained this goal, they appear to have done so only by a process of either drying up their own full-blooded existence or merging in Still Light. This is not even the perfection of the individual, much less that of all beings. *Akhaṇḍa Mahāyoga* aims at total perfection, where all human beings are integrated by being united with one, infinite Pure Being so that an integral fulfilment can occur for all, a fulfilment in which infinite distinctions can obtain without the unity of the whole being affected and in which perfect harmony and co-operation obtain. Matter will be spiritualized, Time abolished, the individual mind, without losing its identity, will be universalized and united with universal consciousness. This *Yoga* requires the union of effort and grace. It requires the ascent to the highest level of Mahāmāyā but with a heart which is open to love and grace. In principle it has already been achieved and there has already been a descent upto a point where the only thing required of man is a genuine call for the Divine. The world Mother is waiting and man only needs to open his heart. This will enable the union of hearts and their

luminous transformation to take place. Humanity will realize itself truely only then. Bliss will it be "in that dawn to be alive".

It is possible at this point to protest that we have moved far indeed from the concept of the science of mind. It might seem that *yoga* in this sense is a mere fantasy or that we have only obscure metaphysics or esoteric dogmas here—Kaviraj's answer is that the distinction between the possible and the impossible, between fantasy and reality, is a distinction which is relative to knowledge. The marvels of modern science would have seemed incredible in an earlier age. The mysteries and marvels of *yoga* are no less wonderful And they are not a matter of speculation but of practical experience. In fact, *Akhaṇḍa Mahāyoga* rests on the foundations of *Sūrya Vijñāna* the Solar Science, of which Sri Sri Viśudhānanda was the great exponent. He could demonstrate the transformation of one substance into another with the help of sunlight alone. As a great modern Indian philosopher has remarked, *yoga* without *Yoga-vibhūti* is meaningless.

This raises the vexed question of the possibility of miracles and their connection with *yoga* Some modern exponents of *yoga* tend to interpret it as a science of physical health and mental poise, of which the 'miracles' are simply therapeutic. Now 'miracles' are distrusted because they are supposed to violate the laws of nature. The moment it is realized that 'miracles' too are expressive of laws though these laws are embedded deeper in the heart of reality than those known at its ordinary physical level, this sense of the violation of natural laws should disappear. The miraculous powers of *yoga* arise at different levels in a definite order and follow definite laws.[9] They do not reduce nature to chaos but reveal unsuspected subtle depths in its structure. What is more, as is well known in the case of modern science, the deeper and further the science of *yoga* progresses the greater becomes the interpenetration of theory and practice. The experimental aspect of modern physics will be totally unintelligible without an adequate grounding in the most abstruse mathematical theory. Similarly in the case of *yoga* too the full significance of its practices would not be intelligible without a grounding in theory. The role of theory, then, should not be construed as the intervention of

theology, dogma or fantasy.

As mentioned before the theories of *yoga* have been elaborated from several different points of view of which the most important are of *Sāṁkhya*, *Vedānta*, Buddhism, Jainism and the *Āgamas* of various descriptions. In all of these it is commonly held that human consciousness is sullied by its attachment to the empirical world and that *yoga* restores it to its pristine condition In the process, however, it loses its human identity and individuality. What is more, humanity as a whole remains unchanged. Even the dualistic and theistic systems while promising a life of eternal bliss and the preservation of identity, refer this attainment to the world of heaven after death. Those who speak of 'liberation while living' (*jivanmukti*) regard that state to be limited by death. Kaviraj's point of view in *Akhaṇḍa Mahāyoga* disparages the value of pure *nivṛtti* or individual salvation as a disregard of true humanistic values. The aim of *yoga* is the attainment of total perfection which means the perfection of all and the transformation of the earth. Human perfection, again, means that the body and the mind should be retained along with consciousness and be divinized so that the true nature of the soul or *ātman* should be realized in a perfected and divinized human world. The essence of human nature is the individual appropriation and control of the mind, the functioning of which presupposes the body. The perfection of human nature lies in the growth of the individual mind into universality and its harmonious union with the universal consciousness which is timeless. The destructive aspect of time and the privative and obstructive nature of matter would then be abolished. The body would be the pliant tool of the mind and give form to consciousness. Lasting concord would be established among men.

This view is similar to Mahāyāna in the sense that it seeks universal perfection, not individual salvation. The role which it ascribes to the world teacher is also reminiscent of the Buddha and of *Apratiṣṭhita Nirvāṇa*. And yet there is a vast gulf between *Akhaṇḍa Mahāyoga* and Mahāyāna which denies individuality itself as illusory. Tāntric and Hathayogi Siddhas have grappled with the problem of physical immortality but they believed that it is not consistent with the preservation of a full-blooded body or a mind capable of thought or reflective

consciousness. Tāntric and Vedic practices of diverse kinds teach ways of attaining to communion with the gods after death. Though the gods have an apparently deathless spiritul or *Prāṇic* being, they lack a thinking mind and cannot of their own actively intervene in human affairs. Even though some monistic *vedāntins* have believed that if a *jīvan mukta* continues in the state of *samprajñāta samādhi* it tends to transform the body, they have been indifferent to such an enterprise.

All these ancient methods of *yoga* seek individual emancipation from the human condition through *jñāna*, i.e. through stilling the mind so that consciousness may sink into its eternity. They do not seek to change mankind as a whole or to perfect its condition. Although they know that the afflictions of the mind are not innate, they regard the body as irredeemable and unnecessary to pure consciousness. They do not value the thinking consciousness or thought and when they do value feeling, they seek to find a permanent home for it in an extra-human world beyond death.

The retort to such criticism from the other side should be obvious. The only way in which man can attain immortality and peace is by merging in the eternity of consciousness, which some regard as also a state of bliss Does physical immortality or the ending of time make sense? Is it meaningful to speak of changing the 'nature' of things? How can the material world be transformed into a spiritual world? How can the human mind change except through an individual and voluntary effort, though social agencies may play an educative part? The great systems of *yoga* and spiritual theory of the past have sought to help mankind within the parameters of necessity imposed by the nature of things. The human body is corruptible, the human mind subject to passions and both are together involved in a process of suffering that appears to cease only in death but continues through rebirth. There can be no salvation for man but through turning away from the world and turning towards timeless and tranquil spiritual reality. "*Aniccā bata Saṅkhārā*". How to effect this turning of the mind, requires the alchemy of *yoga*.

The point of Kaviraj, however, is that the tranquillity of eternal consciousness is only an aspect of the Divine who is waiting in His fulness to descend to the earth as supramental

consciousness (*vijñāna*) which is far more than mere *jñāna* because it contains powers which surpass human understanding but which are necessary for the fulfilment of the human heart. This point of view has a striking similarity to that of Sri Aurobindo, though the conceptual schemes are different in the two cases. Kaviraj's conceptual scheme postulates an ultimate unity as the ground and source of all things. It then bifurcates the created things into two, viz. *Prāṇa* or Light, and Time or Darkness. The former is consciousness endowed with sound and rhythm, while the latter is insentient and inert. The mind is latent in both Light and Darkness, though its dark phase is little known. Its source is the *kṣaṇa* or instant on the overlapping margin of Light and Darkness. The three elements in the constitution of man are *prāṇa, manas,* and *deha.* Of these the mind becomes dormant when the body dies, and the *prāṇa* seeks union with the universal light. The real quest of the human heart is not to escape from the world into Light but to be a willing channel for its illumination and spiritualization. This is possible through the grasping of the *kṣaṇa* and surrendering to the world Mother or Supermind. Just as the collective force of human *karman* is held traditionally to be the real motive force in the running of the cosmos, so in the theory of *Akhaṇḍa Mahāyoga* it is held that the cry of the human heart through the ages and all the efforts made by ascetics, sages and *yogis* have the effect of tending to precipitate the original One into the gracious form of World Mother or Supermind seeking to descend to earth[10].

It will be seen that this theory seeks to recapitulate and develop the diverse traditions of mystical and esoteric thought through the ages all over the world. It includes not merely Indian but Greek, Christian and Islamic elements. In believes that spiritual theories have been based on a growing spiritual experience and need to be revised. *Yoga* is a true science which has discovered itself gradually in many directions through the ages but its present frontiers have extended beyond some of the old systematizations. The concept of *Akhaṇḍa Mahāyoga* seeks to present such a revised system in an apparently simplified manner. Whatever may be the judgment on its claims to represent truth, there can be no doubt of its spiritual humanism being in harmony with modern outlook. The adjective

Akhaṇḍa prefixed to *Yoga* implies that it seeks to restore the unbroken unity of the human race and that it is concerned with humanity as a whole, not isolated individuals. This in itself constitutes a tremendous revolution over most earlier spiritual programmes. Human beings appear to be separate souls, separated by different bodies and minds, like transient islands in the river of time. They seem to be united only by the fragile bond of external social relations, unless, of course, one subscribes to the view that human nature is essentially constituted by social relations. Such a socio-centric view logically eliminates individuality itself, although it makes room for human progress through social engineering. If the barriers between men are deemed illusory, individuality itself tends to be jeopardized. Now in *Akhaṇḍa Mahāyoga* there is a foundational principle uniting men but this unity needs to be realized. The one *Ātman* has yet to be fully manifested. The world-spirit (*Viśva-prāṇa, mahāprāṇa*) has not been truly united to the individual mind. The supermind (*vijñāna*) is yet to descend. The unity of man is not actual but ideal and teleological. It has been compared to the individual modalities of a common substance but it is much more like the discovery of a larger Self.

If the prefix *Akhaṇḍa* may be said to refer to what may be called the horizontal expansion of *Yoga*, the prefix *mahā* refers to its vertical expansion leading to the unity of the individual mind with the world spirit and preparing the way for the descent of the supermind.[11]

All this is possible only through the *yogic* control and conquest of the mind and the body which epitomizes the cosmos. This constitutes the *karman* and *jñāna* sections of *Akhaṇḍa Mahāyoga*, which are followed by the opening and surrender of the heart (*bhāva*). The techniques of all this have been discovered in the ancient traditions of *yoga* which has also explored and mapped out the different regions and directions through which these techniques tend to take the practitioner of *yoga*. The most obvious difference in *Akhaṇḍa Mahāyoga* is in the attitude with which it starts and the goal which it sets out for itself. This enables it to give a new orientation to *yoga*. Its ultimate hope of conquering Time and Death and divinizing humanity as a whole is, however, pinned on the descent of the supermind possible only through the grace of the Mother. Its ultimate weapon is the earnest call of the heart.

5

Theory and Practice of Tantra

It will be universally acknowledged that no one in modern times has had as much familiarity and knowledge of the *Tantras* as Kaviraj. He had not only scanned the vast published and unpublished literature of the *Tantras* but studied them with a rare understanding born of traditional learning as well as practical experience. At the same time he had the training of a critical historian. It is at his instance and guidance that the only useful bibliography of Tantric literature was compiled and published by the Hindi Samiti of the Govt. of Uttar Pradesh.

The modern study of the *Tantras* may be traced to the pioneering efforts of Sri Siva Chandra Vidyārṇava and his disciple Sir John Woodroffe, which were given a systematic form by Swami Pratyagātmānanda Sarasvati in his *Japasūtras*. Fragmentary historical studies have been attempted by some other scholars especially in relation to Buddhist *Tantras*. Unfortunately except for such perceptive writings as of Benaytosh Bhattacharya or S.B Dasgupta, most of these studies have little value beyond providing a critical edition or literal translation of some text. Still unpublished texts and textual obscurities abound. Kaviraj's writings are the best and safest guide in this situation.

The antiquity of Tāntric literature has been variously assessed. The researches of Prof. P.C. Bagchi have shown that by the end of the Gupta age, Tāntric *saṁhitās* were already well known in far south-east Asia. Their beginnings, then, must be held to be pre-Gupta. Buddhist Tantras like the *Guhyasamāja* do appear to be pre-Gupta. Although many of the existing Tāntric works, Śaiva, Śākta or Buddhist, appear to have received popular and scholastic attention in the post-Gupta age, the

beginnings of this literature were clearly much earlier. The situation may be compared with that of the *Purāṇas* which received their present form in several different waves in the Kuṣāṇa, Gupta and post-Gupta ages. At the same time there can be no doubt that the Purāṇic tradition goes back to the Vedic age although this ancient Purāṇic literature has not survived in its original form. The same was probably the case with the *Tantras*. In the *Mahābhārata* the *Pāśupatas* and *Pāñcarātras* are clearly mentioned, and their *Āgamas* must have existed in some form. It is usually assumed that these sects and hence their literature being heterodox emerged in the post-Vedic period. On the other hand, it has been asserted that the Tantras continue an aspect of Vedic thought itself. Since there is reason to suppose that the worship of Paśupati and the Mother Goddess went back to the Indus Civilization, it is possible that some elements of the Pāśupata and Śākta traditions are even pre-Vedic, assuming that the Vedas are post-Harappan. It seems, thus that the Āgamic tradition might have had a mixed origin, pre Vedic, Vedic and post-Vedic. The tradition is much older than its extant literature which on account of its taint of heterodoxy was for long in the care of persons outside the circle of orthodox scholarship. This is reflected in the popular and unpolished style of its earlier literature.

Traditionally *Tantras* have the form of a dialogue in which Śiva Himself is the instructor[1]. According to His five faces there are five streams of Tantras—Upper (*ūrdhva*), eastern, southern, northern and western. From the transcendent Śiva knowledge first emanated as Sound (*nāda*). Then that knowledge assumed the form of Tantra as the different streams of the Tantras were intended to help man in his diverse pursuits, worldly and spiritual. According to the *Kāmika Āgama*, it is from the mouths of Sadāśiva that the streams originated. From each of the mouths there were five streams and hence a total of twenty-five streams. Of the five types, the first was worldly (*laukika*), the second Vedic, the third spiritual, the fourth 'beyond the path' (*atimārga*), and the fifth consisted of *mantras*. The five streams of the last type have been called the *Siddhāntāgama* emanating from the face above and leading to emancipation, the *Gāruda Tantra* from the eastern face teaching the eradication of poison, the Tantra from the northern face detailing the science of con-

trolling others (*Vaśikaraṇa*), the *Bhūtatantra* from eht western face teaching the prevention of possession by the spirits, and the Bhairava Tantra for the destruction of enemies emanating from the southern face. There is again, a distinction between *Śivāgamas* and *Rudrāgamas.* Of the former, ten have been mentioned including the *Kāmika, Ajita* and *Suprabheda.* Of the *Rudrāgamas* eighteen have been mentioned including the *Pārameśvara, Niḥsvāsa, Svayambhūva* and *Kiraṇa.* The Śivāgamas have been described as teaching duality while the Rudrāgamas have been described as enjoining a doctrine of identity in difference.

Apart from these twenty-eight Āgamas, sixty-four Āgamas have also been mentioned at several places such as *Śrikaṇṭhīsaṁhitā, Vāmakeśvara Tantra, Saundaryalahari, Setubandha,* etc. In the *Śrikaṇṭhisaṁhita* these are called *Bhairavāgamas* which have a non-dual doctrine. *Mahāsiddhisāra Tantra* divides the world into three regions and mentions sixty-four Tantras for each of these. The *Sammohana Tantra* mentions different Tantras of different regions such as *Cīna, Drāviḍa, Kerala, Kāśmīra* and *Gauḍa.* It also divides them as Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Gāṇapatya, and Śaura. Tantra works have also been classified according to the diverse Śākta cults to which they may belong. The three most important Śākta cults were of Kālī, Tārā and Tripurasundari. Of the first *Mahākāla Tantra* and the *Karpūrastava* are famous texts. Rāghava Bhaṭṭa's *Kālitattva* is a well known expository work. Tārā was known among the Buddhists as their leading Tāntric deity and had numerous forms and cults. It is Tripurasundarī or Śrīvidyā that forms the central tradition of the Śākta Tāntras. It has several branches but most appear to have become extinct. The famous Vedic seer Lopamudrā, the wife of Agastya, was the founder of one of the surviving cults. Among the famous texts of this school may be mentioned *Tantrarāja, Mātṛkārṇava, Yoginīhṛdaya, Tripurārṇava, Svacchanda Tantra, Tripurārahasya* and the *Lalitopākhyāna* of *Brahmāndapurāṇa. Kāmakalāvilāsa* of Puṇyānanda and *Varivasyārahasya* of Bhāskararāya are at once popular and authoritative.

Another important kind of division between Śākta Tāntric cults and their literature rests on the type of conduct or *ācāra* which is prescribed in them. The division between Right (*Dakṣiṇa*) and Left (*Vāma*) is well known and it is on account of the apprehension entertained from the Left that the *Tantra*

has suffered as a whole in general public estimation. The Tantras of the left appeared to advocate extreme antinomian views which threatened the traditional social fabric itself. The practice of the Five *Makāra* has in particular come for a sharp criticism. Several modern exponents have undoubtedly pointed out that many Tāntric texts deliberately used what has been called *sandhābhāsā* to scare away the uninitiated by its ambiguities. There is also no doubt that the *makāras* were also many times intended symbolically. At the same time, even ancient commentators have referred to certain Śakta sects as following the practice of worshipping what has been described as the "Perceptible Triangle". Thus Lakṣmīdhara condemns the Kaulas, the Kṣapaṇakas, the Kāpālikas, the Digambaras, the Itihāsakas and the Vāmakas as worshipping the *cakras* by external and non-Vedic ritual. Only those who followed the *Samayācāra* and the *Śubhāgamas* were Vedic. The five *Śubhāgamas* were *Vasiṣṭhasaṁhitā*, *Sanakasaṁhitā*, *Śukasaṁhitā*, *Sanandana Saṁhitā*, and ·*Sanatkumārasaṁhitā*. These indicate the Vedic *Samayācāra*. On the other hand the sixty-four *Tantras* referred to in the *Saundaryalahari* were different, followed the *Vāmācāra* and were held to be non-Vedic. This characterization, it may be remarked, ought to be considered in the light of the fact that this kind of *ācāra*·finds mention in several Buddhist *Tantras*.

Athough like Lakṣmīdhara, Appaya Dīkṣita and Bhattoji Dīkṣita too have condemned the Kaula tradition, the celebrated Bhāskara Rāya has offered a defence. The spiritual power of the *Kulācāra* should not be condemned on account of the corruptions that may be found in its practice. In fact, *Kulārṇava* declares, "*Kaulāt Paratraṁ nahi*". The condemnation of the Kaulas was possibly only in the context of praising alternatives. The truth is that the Kaula mode of worship belongs to a very high level of advancement. The condemnation of Kaulācāra is only to eliminate those who are not eligible but may be tempted "*Kula-marga·rato devi na mayā ninditah kvacit| Ācārarahitāḥ yetu ninditās te na cāpare ||*" The universally respected Abhinavagupta was, thus, initiated in the *Kaula* tradition also.

Tantricism or Tāntric principles and practices have a certain common character which is universally found although the philosophical, symbolic, and socio-ethical setting may vary

considerably. The ancient religions of the Near East, esoteric sects of ancient Greece, Roman Catholic Christianity, Taoism, Sufism, etc., all evince what may be called "Tāntric" principles to a certain extent. Thus one may mention the use of temples and images, initiation and consecration, ritual symbolism, charms, prayers and incantations, the concepts of the word, world Mother, the Holy Virgin, use of rosary and litanies, *Japa* and *Dhyāna*, mystical contemplation of love etc., which are found widely spread in different sects and settings. Archaic religion all over the world may be said to be essentially Tāntric. Although increasing philosophical and symbolic sophistication has led religion to 'higher' stages marked by greater abstraction and inwardness, its essential Tāntric orientation necessarily continues.

Religion arises from the simultaneous perception of human frailty and mortality, on the one hand, and of an overarching but invisible, creative Power on the other. The perception of merely immanent and limited causal connections leads to the formulation of scientific laws, the perception of a Power akin to the human will and responsive to the human heart in a mysterious fashion, immanent in Nature and all departments of human life and at the same time utterly transcendent, leads to the religious quest. This quest is for self-regulation and self-transformation through a process of co-operating with and surrendering to that Power or Deity. As Kaviraj has succinctly put it, all *sādhanā* involves the *sādhanā* of *Śakti* in some form or the other. This *Śakti-sādhanā* is the foundational principle of *Tantra*. It may be understood more fully if it is contrasted with purely philosophical religions such as the modern intellectual or rational versions of Buddhism or Advaita, or some of the contemporary humanistic and existentialist versions of Christianity. Such versions of religion sketch the predicament of man but offer only "consolations of philosophy" in diverse ways. They do not reveal a practical way of altering the human situation, individually or collectively, they lack the component of *Sādhana*.

The concepts of *sādhana* and *Śakti* imply a connection between the natural and supernatural orders, the human and the divine. It implies the supernatural revelation or manifestation of a path or mode of action at the moral, mystical or ritual levels and of

principles beyond natural understanding for the welfare of man here and hereafter. Such revealed knowledge naturally forms a sacred tradition (*Āgama, Śāstra*). Those who mediate between common humanity and the divine grace are also specially chosen or gifted and form the class of prophets, seers or spiritual teachers. The introduction of the unregenerate, natural man into the revealed path requires a special event generally called initiation or *Dikṣā*. Thus the concepts of *Śaktisādhana, Āgama, Guru* and *Dikṣā* form necessary elements of the Tāntric way.

In a general manner all of these may be traced in the *Vedas* too. That is why the difference between *Nigama* and *Āgama* is not absolute. The difference really rests on later interpretations. The *Vedas* are held to be *apauruṣeya* the impersonal manifestation of the eternal word, while the *Āgamas* are *pauruṣeya* being uttered by the Divine Person as Sadāśiva. In effect, both are supernatural revelations. The purpose of the revelation too is in both cases comprehensive including *pravṛtti* as well as *nivṛtti*.

About *ādhanā* or spiritual *praxis,* the great Master Abhinavagupta has distinguished various methods and levels. The highest is *Anupāya* or the Absence of Method. It is the unpremediated and spontaneous awareness of the Divine and reminds one of *Sahaja* and Zen. *Śāmbhavopāya* comes next and differs from the former only in degree as it also stands for direct intuitive knowledge and is called '*Icchātmaka*', *Śāktopāya* is comparable to what is normally called the path of knowledge and discrimination. Finally, *Āṇavopāya* is the path of *Kriya* or action where external objects also become relevant. The four paths of pure grace, seeking and intuition, discrimination and knowledge, action and ritual represent different degrees of grace, eligibility and effort. It is in the formulation and systematisation of *kriya* that the peculiar characteristics of *Tantra* may be discovered most easily. But before turning to them, we might glance at some of the basic theoretical presuppositions of Tāntric *praxis.*

The concept of *Śakti* is the most obvious principle of the *Tantras*. *Śakti* is conceived as the freedom or spontaneity (*svātantrya*) of consciousness. The *Advaitins* too conceive of *Brahman* as consciousness but think of consciousness as devoid of all qualities and powers, as pure transcendence incapable of

being connected with the world in any real manner. The Śākta Tāntric attitude differs from such *Brahmavāda* in the fact that it endows consciousness with an inherent power of self-determination which issues forth as Will. Its basic formula is "*citiḥ svatantrā viśvasiddhihetuḥ*." i.e., autonomous consciousness is the creative reason of the universe.[2]

In Kaviraj words, 'The Supreme Reality called *samvit* is of the nature of pure intelligence which is self-luminous and unaffected by the limitations of time, space and causality. It is infinite light called *Prakāśa* with an unstinted freedom of action called *Vimarśa* or *Svātantrya*. This freedom constitutes its power which is in fact identical with its being and remains involved in it as well as expresses itself as its inalienable property. The essence of *samvit* is consciousness free from *vikalpas* and is fundamentally distinct from matter. "The power may be said to exist in a twofold condition. . . It is always active, its activity being expressed on the one hand as self-limitation (*Tirodhana*) involving the appearance (*sṛṣṭi*) of the universe as such till then absorbed in and identified with the essence of Reality and on the other as self-expression only (*anugraha* grace) implying the disappearance (*samhāra*) of the same and its absorption in the Reality." "*Samvit* is like a clean mirror within which the universe shines as an image reflected in a transparent medium. . . The one becomes many through its own intrinsic dynamism. Motion seems to be initiated and multiplicity evolved within the primal unity under its influence. For this reason the one always retains its unity. . . .The many is as real as the one, for both are the same[3]".

The thirty-six principles of the Śaiva Āgamas are common to the Śakta Āgamas. The first eleven constitute the world beyond Nature or the *Prakṛti* of Sāṁkhya, the remaining twenty-five being common with it. Pure consciousness is the source of creation through its spontaneous freedom or *svātantrya*. The fulness of its bliss (*ānanda*) leads to the emergence of Will (*icchā*) and that leads to the appearance of the world which is at first not differentiated from consciousness. To this stage belong the first five pure *tattvas*, viz. *Śiva, Śakti Sadāśiva, Śuddha-vidyā*, and *Īsvara*. *Śivatattva* is a "universal holding within it all the individuals (*Viśeṣas*), but *Para Śiva* or pure Self is transcendent and comprises both the universal and the individuals". Owing to the

free play of the will in pure consciousness an infinite number of limited individuals (*aṁśas*) arise within it and at the same time the subject-object distinction also emerges. Although consciousness limits itself into infinite individual subjects in the *Śiva tattva*, it is still free from *Vikalpa* and matter does not yet appear distinct from it.

"The appearance of Śiva (*Paricchinna-nirvikalpa cit*) as "I" (*Aham*) is called *Śakti.* Although this self-presentative character (*aham-bhāsana*) is in the essence of *Cit*, so that there can be in fact no differentiation between Śiva and Śakti as such, the *cit* is nevertheless known as Śiva in so far as it is free from all differentiating attributes and as Śakti by virtue of its characteristic self-awareness."

In the state of Sadāśiva self-presentation includes not only the Self but also the not-self or the object (*mahāśūnya*) external to it in the form "I am this" and indicates the predominance of the subjective moment. When the objective moment prevails and the form of consciousness is "*Idam aham*", the state is called *Īśvara.* When the subjective and objective moments are equalized we have the state of *Śuddha Vidyā.*

The second stage of evolution shows a further development of difference or materiality when the "subtle products of matter and spirit make their appearance". To this condition belong the mixed (*miśra*) *tattvas*, viz. *māyā, kalā, vidyā, rāga, kāla* and *niyati* In this state matter predominates over the spirit so that consciousness "becomes a quality inherent in the material subject". "This material subject, which is matter prevailing over spirit and related to it as a substance to its quality, is called *Māyā.*" As respectively limiting or obscuring the omnipotence, omniscience, self-sufficiency, eternity and freedom of the supreme Śiva, *kalā, vidyā, rāga. kāla* and *niyati* may be deemed as the five forms of His 'external', i e. 'accidental' power. Thus limited Śiva appears as *Puruṣa* or *Jīva.*

The next stage of evolution comprises the twenty-four *tattvas* of Saṅkhya, where matter is overwhelmingly strong. *Prakṛti* itself may be described as the collective *karma-vāsāna*, "The dispositions and tendencies of all persons with various and beginningless *Karmans.*" "It may be fitly described as the body of the *karma* dispositions of the *jivas*, considered as inhering in *citśakti* or self." The *karmans* being of three kinds, viz.

those producing pleasure, those producing pain, and those producing dullness and indifference, *Prakṛti* also has a threefold aspect. When the dispositions mature in time, they "cause the cognitive power (*jñāna-śakti*) of the conscious self to move outwards and have contact with the external world, which is the objective outcome of *prakṛti*." It is like awakening after deep sleep, although viewed from above it is like the emergence of a dream. The Kārmically qualified cognitive power oriented towards objects and leading to experience or *bhoga* is termed *citta*. When unmanifest in dreamless sleep, it sinks into *prakṛti*, when manifest it belongs to the *puruṣa* individually as his power. It has a twofold aspect, passive as *prakāśa* and active as *vimarśa* in which judgement and verbalization (*śabdollekha*) are involved.

All systems of Indian philosophy accept the role of *Avidya* in the causation of *saṁsāra*. In the Śaiva-Śākta *Āgamas* it is understood as *mala* which may be interpreted as delimitation or obscuration or impurity. It has three grades, viz., *Āṇava Māyīya*, and *Kārma*. The first of these converts the infinite and sole consciousness into an individual subject, the second delimits the powers of this individualized consciousness and binds it with the five *Kancukas*, the third imposes the burden of *Karma*.

As already mentioned the philosophical point of view of the Tantras is threefold, viz. dual, non-dual, and mixed. In the dualistic *Āgamas* matter or the insentient substance is a distinct reality and its highest form is *Bindu* or *Mahāmayā* which is the matrix of all creation but wholly plastic to the will of God. The spirit-matter dualism has the consequence of providing a principle for the separation of spirits also. The most elaborate Tāntric philosophy, however, is of the non-dualistic variety of which the best expositions are to be found in the writings of Abhinavagupta and the *Tripurarahasya*. On this view the process of creation is essentially one of emanation "From the fulness of the Lord, eternally of the nature of self-existence, self-consciousness and self-delight and in eternal union with this supercosmic transcendent power, emanated *śakti*, then *nāda* from which arose *bindu*."

Saccidānanda vibhavāt sakalāt parameśvarāt/
Āsicchaktis tato nādo nādāt bindu-samudbhavah//[4]

The emergence of *Śakti* from the Supreme Divine after the cosmic night "is like the revival of memory in a re-awakened person after the unconsciousness of sleep. The desire for vision again of the lost world, is associated with a sense of void, which is *māyā*." "The vision of void is accompanied by an indistinct sound called *para-nāda*, which fills the entire space. *Nāda* is of the nature of light, that sound and light co-exist and are related as phases of the same phenomenon is recognized in the Tantras." Thus creation begins with the emergence of creative will which produces the void in which the supreme and luminous sound never abates. "The next step is represented by the concentration of the diffuse light-sound into a focus (*under the secret influence of will*) called *bindu*. It is in this stage that the power of action (*kriyāśakti*) distinctly unfolds itself." The various *tattvas* are evolved out of *Bindu* which breaks into three, viz. *Apara Bindu*, *Bija* and *Nāda* (*apara*). In the *apara bindu* the Śiva aspect prevails while in the *Bīja*, *śakti* prevails; in the lower *nāda* the two elements are united in equal strength. The disequilibrium and splitting of the *bindu* comes from the force of *kāla* or Time which is, thus, an "eternal aspect of the eternal *puruṣa* through which this intimate knowledge of supreme *prakṛti* is said to be derived. *Prakṛti* knows itself and is self-luminous."

The terms *nāda*, *bindu* and *kalā* have been used in a variety of confusing ways in Tāntric literature. Kaviraj's elucidation is thus worth special attention—"There are three *nādas*: *para nāda*, the antecendent of *para-bindu*, the *mahānāda* called-*Śabda-Brahman*, which follows the disruption of *para-bindu*; and the *nāda* which results from the union of *bindu* and *bija*. Similarly, there are two *bindus*: *para-bindu* which is produced from the focussing of *para-nāda* and which is the source of *Śabda-brahman* the immediate spring of creative forces and *apara-bindu* which is the effect of *para-bindu* with the Śiva element prevailing." "*Kalā* too is sometimes used in the sense of the supreme power and at others in the sense of *bīja* or the *varṇas* which are the basic principles of lower *nāda*. The *para-nāda* is the super-causal

or *mahākāraṇa* state of *Brahman*—whose causal state is the *Śabda-Brahman* or *Mahānāda*. It is also the *Kula-Kuṇḍalini* "figured as a triangle consisting of three principles (*tattvas*) viz., *bindu bīja* and *nāda*." The *bīja* itself consists of the *varṇas* or letter-sounds which are represented in the *a-ka-tha* triangle, each side of which consists of sixteen *Varṇas* beginning with *A, Ka* and *Tha* respectively. These are located in the different *cakras* and when activated tend to merge in the *nāda* which travels in the *suṣumṇā*.

Another triangle which is famous in Tāntric lore is called *Kāma-Kalā*. *Kāma* or *ravi* is the union of *prakāśa* and *vimarśa*, from which emerge the two white and red *bindus*, also called *soma* and *agni*. From this triangle of the Sun, Fire and Moon flows out the *hārdhakalā*, the essence of delight. The *one* is *sat*, the two are *sat* as aware of Itself, i.e., *cit* (*cit-kalā*), and the *hārdha-kala* flowing from between the two is the result of self-awareness felt as *ānanda*."[5]

The concept of *kuṇḍalini* is of crucial importance in the *Tantras*. Many modern writers have proposed diverse explanations, only serving to confuse the issue. Kaviraj has explained that eight forms (*aṣṭadhā*) of *kuṇḍalinī* have been mentioned in the tradition. The highest is the *Śakti-Kundalini* identical with *Parā saṁvit*. It is designated *Kuṇḍalini* to indicate that it is a condition of Supreme consciousness in which it rests itself with its infinite potentialities coiled up as it were. In the process of creation it is transformed into *Prāṇa Kuṇḍalini*. "This transition is effected by a graded process in which *śakti-Kuṇḍalinī* coils itself more and more tightly through the evolution of *mātṛkās* and *varṇas* and reaches the level of *prāṇa* and *Śūnya*. It is a truism that *samvit* is first changed into *prāṇa* before the regular course of subsequent creation represented by the emergence of the first principles or *tattvas* can possibly take place." *Kuṇḍalinī* in its essence, thus, is the same as *para bindu* or *mahāmāya*. As *nāda* it resides in each individual. "*Kuṇḍalini-śabda-vācyastu. . . . nādātmanā sva-kāryeṇa pratipuruṣam bhedenāvasthitaḥ*."[6] *Nāda* is the inner force which produces judgmental knowledge and invests sound with the power of indicating objects (*vācakatā*). *Kuṇḍalini*, thus, is the force which underlies the very functioning of conscious life in the individual. Its 'awakening' as a spiritual force and upward

progress through the *suṣumnā* is obstructed by the *Mātṛkās* and *Karma-vāsanās* which underlie *Vikalpas* and *Bhogas*. The means of this awakening are the *upāyas* mentioned earlier. The awakening of the *kuṇḍalini* is heralded by the sounding and merging of the *varṇas* in the *nāda* within the *suṣumṇā*.

The real nature of *suṣumṇā* is the void or *śūnyapadavī*. It is figuratively represented as a canal to indicate that the void is reached in stages through increasing emptiness. This process is one of increasing concentration and withdrawal of consciousness and aims at a stage in which the fully concentrated consciousness becomes wholly objectless and stands poised as the witness of the great Void. Beyond this no progress is possible through any kind of effort. The transcendence of the Void or *Mahāśūnya* is possible only through the gracious descent of *citkalā*.

The principal means of Tāntric *sādhana* is undoubtedly *mantra-japa*, although *nyāsa*, *yoga*, *yantra*, *maṇḍala* etc., are well known in the context of Tāntric worship. *Mantra* has been identified as *Citta* itself which in turn is simply a stage in the involution of *Citi* in the process of creation. When consciousness losing its status as subject becomes a representation of the object, it is called *Citta*. As already mentioned thought and word are inseparable. In its lowest stage the word is the utterable and audible sound with denotative power and serving as the vehicle of consciousness as thought or *Vikalpa*. This is speech as *Vaikhari* which serves to imprison consciousness in the world of everyday things and thoughts. *Mantra-japa* is a process of the churning of consciousness. "Making the Self the lower *araṇi* and *Praṇava* the upper one, the Deity is to be seen by the process of churning like a hidden light." *Mantra* is the seed-thought which becomes manifest as *nāda* in concentrated practice. From the stage of *vaikharī*, *vāk* rises to the higher level of *madhyamā* in which the subject-object distinction and discursiveness remain but the dimension of externality to the mind is abolished. The meanings become intelligible forms in their distinctness and logical order. Still higher is the state of *paśyantī vāk* which is intuitive, a seeing of things *sub specie aeternitatis*, as a whole as if in a flash. Beyond it is the *para vāk* which is the self-affirmativeness of *vimarśa* itself. Beginning with the lower *nāda* in the *suṣumnā*,

Tāntric *sādhanā* advances with the help of the *mantra* to the Supreme *Nāda* and consciousness.

Tāntric cosmology implies a distinctive view of human nature and destiny. The essence of man is divine, the nature of *jīva* being the same as of *Śiva*. It is not merely the identity of distinctionless and motionless consciousness as in Advaita, but the identity of consciousness in its infinite power. That man appears ignorant, powerless, subject to passions, bound by destiny and time is only because of the free self-imposition of limitations by the Divine in the process of creation. "The soul as a spiritual atom, thus, makes its first appearance when the freedom of divine will is lost behind its own self-created veil through the transition of *Śakti* from *Para Kuṇḍalini* to *Prāṇa-Kuṇḍalini*." "The divine attributes of the Self are all diminished, in its atomic condition, when the *Cit* appears as *Citta*." This is the appearance of the *Āṇava mala* which produces the condition of the *paśu* and makes subjection to *Māyā* possible. The rise of *vāsanās* subsequently constitutes the *karmamala*. The *Māyīya mala* includes the three bodies viz., (i) "the causal or *kalā-śarīra*, (ii) the subtle or *puryaṣṭaka*, i.e. *tattvaśarīra*, and (iii) the gross elemental or *bhuvanaja-śarīra*". All objects come within *māyīya mala* of which the function is to show "an object as different from the subject (*sva-rūpa*)." One may remark that this is reminiscent of the Buddhist *jñeyāvāraṇa*, just as *karma-mala* is parallel to *kleśāvāraṇa*. *Āṇava* produces a limited self-consciousness aware of *bheda* or multiplicity. *Māyā* includes the thirty-one *tattvas* produced from it while *Karma-mala* is the *adṛṣṭa* comprising *pāpa* or *puṇya*.

The destiny of man is to seek release from his *samsaric* condition and return to his original nature. The release is attained through discriminative knowledge which leads to the extinction of *Karma mala* and exalts the soul above *māyā*. But the soul still retains its atomic state and remains within the limits of *Mahāmāyā* "which it cannot escape unless the supreme grace of the Divine Master acts upon it and removes the basic Ignorance which caused its atomicity and the limitation of its infinite powers." This is the condition of *Vijñānākala* or *Vijñānakevalin* or *Kaivalya*. This is the spiritual ideal held up by most ancient schools except Mahāyāna and possibly *Vedānta*.

The *Āgamas* seek to go beyond this and would like man to rise to Śivahood, which is said to be attained through the stages of the Pure order (*Śuddhādhvā*). The states of the soul in these stages "are not those of *Paśu* but of Śiva Himself, though certain limitations still remain. These limitations are those of *adhikāra*, *bhoga* and *laya* according to the dualists." "They are removed in due course of time." As mentioned before Kaviraj in his latest ideas came to hold that ultimately *sādhanā* must be oriented towards the descent of supreme grace which would transform the whole of creation He distinguished between *sādhanā* and *yoga* and within the latter, between *khaṇḍa yoga* and *akhaṇḍayoga*.

Since Śivatva is the very essence of the human spirit, its Paśutva depends on Ignorance and requires knowledge for its eradication. This knowledge begins as indirect knowledge of the Self through contact with the *Āgamic* tradition, is strengthened by the removal of doubts through reasoned thinking and becomes direct knowledge through *samādhi*. This intuitive knowledge is indeterminate and hence not adequate to remove ignorance which is a kind of determinate knowledge (*vikalpa*). Such determinate knowledge can be removed only by its contradictory determinate knowledge. This is provided by recognition or *pratyabhijñā*.

It would be noticed that this process of the dawn of saving knowledge is parallel to the one described in many *Vedāntic* texts. There are two principal differences. In the first place the *Āgamas* emphasize the need of propitiating one's own divine self by means of meditation or *upāsanā* which leads to the descent of grace or *Śaktipāta*. Although the role of *upāsanā* is recognized in Advaita Vedānta and, in fact, the great Master Śaṅkara himself appears to have recommended *Śākta Tāntric Upāsanā* in his *stotras*, its role is theoretically that of a dispensable accessory. This is because Advaita makes an absolute distinction between knowledge and action.[7] The Tantras deny such a distinction. This leads to the second great difference between traditional Vedāntic Advaitism and Tāntric Advaitism. The ideal of *Śivatvā* itself differs from that of *Brahmatva* since the former is conceived as the identity of supreme knowledge and will as unlimited freedom or *svātantrya*. Tāntric theory adequately explains why *jñāna* needs *karma* and *bhakti* for its perfection.

6

The Meaning of Indian Culture

The concept of 'culture' emerged in the West in the 19th century in the wake of anthropological, philological and sociological research, nationalist movements and romantic philosophies such as of Herder, Hegel and Mazzini. It tended to bring together two somewhat distinct meanings. On the one hand, it meant the distinctive and characteristic features of the life and thought of a national society. On the other, it meant those ideal values and their search which would be the universal standards for the development and evaluation of personality. Besides, the concept of national culture tended to have a folk and elite dichotomy within it. There was also the problem of culture being a particularistic and divisive or a universalistic and unifying concept. It must be confessed that these ambiguities in the concept of culture have continued.

The earlier word in India which could be paralleled to 'culture' was *dharma* which not only signified 'characteristic nature' but also ideal virtues, social order and obligation, and applied to individuals as also to the group. In effect, the word *dharma* tended to be as pervasive and ambiguous as the word 'culture'. As a response to the British conquest of India and the efforts at the religious conversion of the people and their deracination through an alien system of education—all in the name of religious, social and cultural improvement—a series of movements arose in India which sought to define and formulate the principles of Hindu *dharma*. In thinkers like Vivekānanda the plea for Hindu *dharma* was really a plea for cultural nationalism. It was fervently nationalistic as well as catholic. Adopting the doctrine of *Vedānta* as the heart of Hinduism, Vivekānanda preached it as a universal religion. The point is

that while his values were derived from the Hindu tradition he did not seek to Hinduize India or the world but rather to preach the universal values which he had personally discovered in the tradition to which he belonged. This peculiar relationship between Hinduism, nationalism and humanistic universalism which is discoverable in Vivekānanda may also be seen in Sri Aurobindo. To a certain extent these ideas form the background of Kaviraj's approach to Indian culture also. He belonged to the same generation as Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, lived through the freedom struggle, and was the heir of traditional wisdom and learning as well as of modern knowledge and scientific training.

Kaviraj's approach to culture was basically universalistic, humanistic and spiritual. Man is essentially a spiritual being seeking to recover his lost Kingdom. Human beings are not ultimately atomistic, nor are they simply akin, they are essentially united as one ultimate being which nevertheless permits distinctions. This spiritual view of man emphasizes his innate dignity and freedom, individuality and social harmony. It rejects atomism as well as collectivism, materialism and force. It is humanistic in the sense that it seeks to transform and perfect man rather than to collectivistically suppress or ascetically transcend his essential humanity. In this way it rejects not only worldliness but also ascetic other-worldliness. The finest ideal for man is to be a *yogi*. *Yogaḥ karmasu kauśalam*. Every man has the duty to work for humanity and co-operate in the fulfilment of its divinely appointed destiny.

Herder and Mazzini had held that every nation has its characteristic historical task and mission, an idea which had appealed to Ranade and which may be seen in Vivekānanda and Aurobindo. Kaviraj too may be said to have subscribed to such a view. India by her past tradition has a deep commitment to spiritual *praxis* and ideals. Her greatest sons had been devoted to this kind of life and have left behind a legacy of which one could justly be proud. This spiritual tradition is above all characterized by its richness and diversity. Innumerable philosophies and ways of conduct have been formulated on the basis of the most bewildering variety of spiritual *sādhana*. If the spectacle of the harmony of One and Many is to be seen anywhere, it is in the Indian spiritual tradition. This unity in multiplicity has

become the keynote of Indian culture. It has given it a continuing catholicity of outlook which enabled the rich synthesis of diverse races, communities, religions and cultures to take place in the broad sweep of the Indian tradition giving it a continental culture. It is spiritual but not narrowly or fanatically religious. This attitude of tolerance gives it the philosophy of *ahimsa* and co-existence. This is also the heart of secularism, *sarva-dharma-sama-bhāva* as Vinobaji put it. Kaviraj's point of view is secular in this profound sense, not as indifference to religion but as the appreciation of the universal but varied Truth of spiritual life. Culture in this sense is nothing except the human spiritual tradition divided into numerous provinces, ages and levels. *Philosophia perennis* is expressive of this universal wisdom.

This point of view is also idealistic in the Platonic sense. Things human can only be properly understood in terms of eternal archetypes which are reflected in them. "As above so below", as well as the parallelism of the microcosm and the macrocosm give to the human world a pervasive sense of spiritual significance and mystical wholeness. This certainly repudiates materialistic, naturalistic and sociocentric views about culture. Culture is not something determined by simply natural or social conditions although these are not irrelevant. It is rooted in archetypal ideals connected with the essential nature of man. Since that essence is freedom, culture too is ultimately the expression of Freedom. Under conditions of natural and social bondage, culture becomes the search for freedom. That is why *mukti* is the principal *puruṣārtha* and *dharma* its principal means. *Kāma* is the natural hedonistic end. *Artha* comprises all the utilities which serve these ends. These four are the commonly enumerated ends or values of human life, moral, economico-political, sensuous and spiritual The pursuit of *dharma* or moral values presupposes that the moral subject must be able to act freely—*Svatantrah Kartā*. Whether as the practice of virtue or as conformity to a rule of obligation, the pursuit of *dharma* requires self-control and action with a certain degree of disinterestedness. The pursuit of moral ideals requires certain objective conditions both as means at the command of the individual and a politico-legal order which guarantees the security of person and property These economic means and the political order constitute *Artha*. It would be obvious from this that the tradi-

tional analysis of values does not neglect the social aspect of life. The search for pleasure is admitted as a legitimate human seeking provided it is restrained within the bounds of *dharma*. Since man cannot be fully satisfied by pleasures which are finite, he is bound ultimately to seek his own real nature which alone being infinite (*bhūmā*) can give the peace that passeth understanding.

Historically speaking one could postulate an original spiritual culture of mankind which should have been located in the Indian subcontinent conceived as the traditional *Kumari dvīpa* and *Bhārata-Varṣa*. From this original centre spiritual waves have spread over other countries and continents in different ages. What is called Hindu culture is merely a part of this original culture. Primitive tribal cultures, Dravidian culture, Aryan culture, Buddhist and Jaina cultures, the cultures of the *vānaras* and the *rākṣasas*, all these represent particular aspects of the original culture and its diverse phases of development or distortion.[1]

Modern archaeologists have sought to reconstruct the archaic history of man through his material remains on the evolutionary assumption that primitive or preliterate culture was similar to what the anthropologists report about surviving primitive tribes. This reconstruction does not do justice to the fact that moral and spiritual culture like artistic creativity shows no correlation with material culture.[2] Material simplicity is perfectly compatible with a high degree of culture in the realm of values, social, moral, artistic and spiritual. Most of the basic social institutions like the family and the state, developed artistic activity, language and religion go back to prehistory. The development of culture and civilization must not be equated. The mythical accounts of the past in the theory of the Four Ages agree in picturing the remote past in terms of material simplicity but high culture. The beginnings of man's spiritual culture may thus be plausibly placed in the remote antiquity of prehistoric times, and it is to this period that the ancient traditional ages would refer.

When the curtain rises on the first civilizations of history we find in the religions of the ancient Near East as well as the Indus Valley a striking similarity to the Tāntric practices just as the religions of the Indo-European peoples have an obvious kinship

with Vedic religion. *Nigama* and *Āgama*, the *Vedas* and the *Tantras* constitute the twin sources of the spiritual tradition of India, which has maintained a close connection with the development of spirituality elsewhere. Pythagorus and Socrates, Orphic and Eleusinian mysteries, Neoplatonism, ascetic sects of the Essenes, etc. appear to have had contact with India. Early Christianity, Buddhism and Bhagavatism cannot be wholly dissociated. Indian influence reappears in Sufism and has played an obvious part in the shaping of Central Asian, Far Eastern and South East Asian spirituality.

Within India itself different religions have met and mingled and helped the creation of a rich and tolerant spiritual culture which is like a microcosm of world spirituality. What is misleading about culture is that it is often identified with historically given societies, nations or civilizations. These are in fact only the accidental trappings or external vehicles in terms of which the inner spiritual essence of culture manifests itself in diverse symbolic, conceptual and institutional forms. The same logical or emotional idea, for example, may be expressed in different languages and thereby undergo subtle differences, a phenomenon which can be seen by comparing translations of Christian, Buddhist or Muslim Scriptures. If we were to compare the expressions of romantic imagination or liberal ideology in different artistic movements or political institutions we could see other aspects of such variation. It should not be difficult then to imagine that there is an original core of spiritual values and insights which function universally as the higher and essential nature of man in different social and symbolic environments in different countries and ages. To understand the real and ideal unity of mankind it is necessary to go beyond their gross and conventional forms which tend to divide men and create strife.

This original and universal spiritual culture of man has been known as *Sanātana Dharma*, the Perennial Law, or *Saddharma*, the Good or True Law. When it is given the name of a particular people or community it becomes limited to what is current among them for the time being.[3]

A distinction has been drawn above between the body and the soul of a culture. If the community or social tradition is located as the body, the soul may be identified with the neces-

sary collocations of specific idea-forces (*saṁskāras*). This soul-force of the culture acts like a seed and receives the imprint of a specific nature (*prakṛti*) in a particular environment. Continuity through history in a region gives it a specific national or continental aspect. It is in this sense that we can speak of Indian culture which would in effect mean the spiritual culture of man as formed with the imprint of the Indian environment. Different streams meeting within it have produced its variants and also acted as its constituents and accidents but they can all be recognized within an Indian identity owing to a generic similarity. This generic similarity is best seen in the vision of unity within multiplicity. "There is no doubt that the secret of Indian culture will be discovered through that same path of synthesis which was followed by Lord Kṛṣṇa in formulating the principle of *Puruṣottama* by synthesizing the two contradictory concepts of the Mutable and the Immutable Persons and in formulating the great *Yoga* of Disinterested Action by reconciling the opposites of desire and stillness in the same subject."[4] It will not be out of place to recall here that from Tilak to Aurobindo and Gandhi, it is the *Gīta* with its *Yoga* of Action which has been the Scripture par excellence for modern Indian savants.

This basic unitive vision comes from the intimation of integral truth. That is why it is capable of respecting partial truth also. All the great branches of the sciences (*Vidyās*) and the arts (*kalās*) were, thus, inspired by this basic quest for the one but infinite overarching truth. This was the vision of *Brahman* or the cosmic Being or the *Ātman* or Self. All seeking for knowledge and happiness reaches its culmination in this vision. Thus Grammar searched the ultimate principle of speech or Logos, the source of all creation. *Chandas* is not mere prosody but the science of Rhythm which ultimately belongs to the world of celestial light. Poetry too is ultimately the poetry of vision in which *rasa* is revealed. The performing arts go back to the principle of *nāda*. The science of ritual is *Brahmavidyā* symbolized. Even *Kāmaśāstra* was conceived ultimately in relation to the mystery of *Kāma-Kalā*. All arts and sciences were traditionally conceived as seeking the same integral truth, though each was held to approach it from a distinctive angle.

Indian culture has passed through different ages in the

course of its history in which there has been development or decline in different aspects. The Vedic age was centred in the concepts of *Devata* and *Yajña. Devata-tattva* is the same as the luminous substance which underlies the distracted functioning of the psyche in the individual. It becomes manifest through the concentrated churning of the mind. Particular *devatas* arise through the superposition of names and forms on this Light by the seers through the agency of *Citkala.* Kaviraj emphasised that although various gods have been and are being discovered, the essential *devata-tattva* is one and continuous. *Yajña* is in essence self-surrender to the divine light. "The oblation is verily the initiated (sacrificer) himself." Vedic religion is not to be understood as ignorant nature worship or animism. It was the worship of spiritual light through an unreserved surrender to it. "We worship the adorable effulgence of the creator; may it inspire our thoughts." "Lead us from Untruth unto Truth, from Darkness to Light, from Death to Immortality."

Different aspects of this ancient faith were developed in different directions in subsequent ages. Kaviraj held that Buddhism developed Saṁkhyan analysis and Yogic contemplation but was ultimately indebted to the *upasanas* of the *Brahmaṇas.* The Mahāyāna was in many ways truer to Buddha's mission than Hīnayāna since it developed the concepts of *Prajña* and *Karuṇa* and the ideal of Bodhisattva, all of which belonged to the path which Buddha had himself followed. Hīnayāna, thus, appears to have been only the lesser path to be followed by those who could not take the courageous resolve to help all beings in their quest for the transcendence of sorrow. Usually it is only the differences between Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical principles which are emphasized. But Kaviraj pointed out many parallels between Buddhist doctrines and Brāhmaṇical texts

The rise of Tāntricism into the open and the advent of the *Yogis* and the *Siddhas* in the post-classical age provided the background of the eclipse of Buddhism and the emergence of popular theistic cults in the mediaeval age. Ordinarily this phase of Indian culture is either dubbed as one of the decline of the ancient tradition or treated simply as the emergence of a Hindustani or Indo-Muslim culture. Kaviraj has rightly pointed out that this age saw a vigorous continuity with the past in its spiritual traditions. The great Vedāntic Ācāryas, saints of

the Bhakti movement, great Yogis, Tāntrikas, commentators and philosophers who flourished in the mediaeval age make it essentially one of continuity with the past. A careful perusal of the mediaeval literature in the spoken languages of the time and in Sanskrit will reveal their essential identity of purpose and ethos.

It is because of this practical continuity of the spiritual current in mediaeval times which were dominated by the epics especially *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Vedāntasūtras*, and the *Bhāgavata*, that the nineteenth century awakening of India in terms of her ancient culture became possible. After Independence it is imperative that this awakening should become even more intensive and extensive so that India could fulfill her spiritual mission in the march of humanity.

Karma, jñāna and *bhakti* are recognized as the three basic means of spiritual attainment. *Karma* is essentially the expression of freedom or *svātantrya* but owing to the false identification of the self with the non-self, what is termed action in the natural world is nothing except bondage, The natural products like body and the senses are subject to incessant change and motion, and when they are accepted as the self, the human will being subject to desires and passions becomes heteronomous. It is true that freedom is not wholly lost because the very sense of selfhood creates a semblance of ownership and freedom in psycho-physical actions. Thus is generated the cycle of *karma* and *bhoga*, which is called *saṁsāra*. However, when action is performed disinterestedly for the sake of social or religious obligations or out of the selfless higher emotions of compassion, altruism and love, it purifies the mind of its taints of passion and actions done under its influence and acts as the sovereign means of liberating the self. Such action which is the opposite of self-seeking and involves the renunciation of the fruit of action is the essence of *yajña* or sacrifice. Social service of every kind performed in the right spirit will be included in such selfless, disinterested or sacrificial action.

The organization of *dharma* in ancient society provided the harmonization of personal development and social service. The *sādhāraṇa dharmas* indicated the ideal virtues which the individual needed to pursue to cultivate his personality and which at the same time helped the transcendence of egoism

and promoted altruism. The *Āśramas* indicated the obligations and the types of service appropriate to them. The *Varṇās* organized the basic social services on which the fabric of collective life rested. Obligatory sacrifice was the paradigm of social functioning, not commercial exchange as in modern times. Nevertheless, despite change of times, root ideas of sacrifice and disinterested work continue to be relevant as guiding principles of the philosophy of life, as Tilak and Aurobindo have shown in their interpretations of the *Gīta*.

Kaviraj's conception of knowledge has been mentioned before. It is *Atmavidya* or *Brahmavidya* which alone deserves the name of knowledge. What commonly passes under the name of knowledge is merely mental construction or *Vikalpa* subject to the delusive force of language and the senses. Its truth is confined to the world of convention and behaviour (*saṃvṛti, vyavahāra*). True knowledge arises in an indirect form from the *Āgama* but has to be grasped by the help of appropriate reasoning and meditation. It is only when error is eliminated through the elimination of constructions in *samādhi* that pure intuitive knowledge, *prajña* or *pratibha*, arises.

The path of *bhakti* may be divided into three stages viz., the initial stage (*Pravartaka-avastha*), the stage of *praxis* (*sādhaka*), and the stage of achievement (*siddha*). In each of the first two, one after another, two stages may be distinguished. The first part of the initial stage consists of the repetition of the Name (*Nāma-sādhana*). The repetition of the Name as a result of voluntary determination is really a preliminary stage which is not even the *sādhana-bhakti* that commences only when the Name has been received from a spiritually perfected teacher and its reception and practice have purified the natural body and led to the emergence of the pure ideal body called *bhāva-deha*. The natural body is really a body of deprivation or negativity (*abhāva-deha*). True *sādhana* begins only when one's identification is transferred to the pure body of positive or ideal being (*bhāva-deha*). *Nāma* and *mantra* help in this transition.

Bhakti is a specific mode of *hlādiniśakti* which is of the nature of *mahābhāva*. It follows that the dawn of real *bhakti* cannot be anything except the intimation of *Mahābhāva*. Since *Mahābhāva* and *hlādiniśakti* belong to the *svarūpaśakti* or the intrinsic nature of the Lord, *bhakti* cannot be the result of the volition

of the *Jīva* but a gift of divine grace only. Man can strive but his transition to the realm of *bhāva* or 'Idea' can come only from God's grace. Man's love for God to be real, can only be part of God's love, which reminds one very strongly of Spinoza's dictum that the 'intellectual' love of God is part of the love with which God loves Himself.

In the state of the Beginner or *pravartaka* at first the nature of the subject as well as that of the object of *bhakti* remain obscure When the *bhāva-deha* is attained the true subject stands revealed but the object of *bhāva* still remains covered. When as a result of continued longing and search the divine Person reveals His nature, the longing or *bhāva* turns into love or *Prema* of which the culmination is attained in *Rasa*. That is the state of perfection or *Siddhāvasthā*.

The Body of Longing or *Bhāva-deha* is really the same as the *sthāyi-bhāva* which is capable of developing into *rasa* It is with the help of this stable longing that the devotee can enter into the mystical heart which has been likened to a lotus with eight petals. The centre of this lotus is *mahābhāva*.

As is well known, five principal *bhāvas* of *parā bhakti* have been traditionally indicated, viz. dasya, *śānta*, *sakhya*, *vātsalya*, and *mādhurya*. It is in the last especially in its sense of separation that *bhakti* is held to reach its climax. "In each others lap, they both weep apprehending separation."

The cultivation of *Bhakti* might appear to be wholly personal and individual and devoid of social significance. This, however, is not so because the person who seeks to cultivate the love of God needs to cultivate a high degree of moral character as well as altruism. This is emphasised as much in the *Gīta* as in the *Rāmacaritamānasa* of Tulasi and the writings of other mediaeval saints. Without a heart capable of active and effective love and compassion for other human beings one is not likely to be able to move far in the path of divine love. If one simply withdraws from the love of worldly things, it may leave the heart cold. It is necessary to cultivate a disinterested as well as warm heart to be able to seek the love of God. The very attitude of cultivating a personal relationship with God implies the need for cultivating a corresponding relationship with other human beings.

The concept of *rasa* is in a way the supreme value of cul-

ture. The Masters of poetry and drama have shown that in the apprehension of *rasa* not only is the partiality, momentariness and negativity of pleasures overcome but the negativity of pain also is overcome. Pleasures and pains are transmuted into parts of an ideal flow which still retains the intensity and vividness of direct experience. This is achieved through the idealizing role of words and symbols which function as the expressive windows of the permanent moods or ideas of the heart. The aesthetic experience of *rasa* is nothing but the reflection of the inherent delight of consciousness in the mind when it is emotionally moved but contemplatively absorbed in some concrete image or symbol. The culmininatioon of this may be said to be in the eternal *līlā-rasa* of the Lord, which some place in *nitya-vṛndāvana* and believe that a different kind of time—time as *kinkara* obtains there. The ultimate transformation at which *akhaṇḍa mahāyoga* aims should help the realization of this ideal vision on earth.

NOTES

Chapter 1

1. Sachindra Nath Sanyal was the famous revolutionary whom Kaviraj knew as a junior contemporary of his at the Queen's College, Varanasi when he (Kaviraj) was a student of M.A. Sachindra Nath's *Bandi Jīvan* is one of the most moving works from the annals of revolutionary life in those days.
2. His original name was Śaśi Bhūṣaṇa Sanyal. Sri Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa used to call him 'Śasi' and thought highly of him, He came to be known as Śiva Rama Kinkara Yogatrayānanda. He was not only a versatile scholar but a *yogi* of a very high order. Kaviraj had read his *Ārya-śāstra-Pradīpa* as early as in 1904 and came in close personal contact with him between 1910 and 1917. Kaviraj admired him most profoundly and has recorded many marvellous occurrences which were connected with him. Kaviraj regarded him as one of the major formative influences of his life, and as a major thinker who proposed a philosophical synthesis vaster and profounder than that of Herbert Spencer.
3. Sri Sri Visuddhananda was the spiritual preceptor of Kaviraj from 1917 to 1937 when the former died. Kaviraj has written a five-volume life of his teacher in Bengali.

   Visuddhananda was born in the Burdwan district in a family of Chattopadhyayas in the Bandul village. He was named Bholanath, He is said to have been bitten by a rabid dog in his childhood and to have been miraculously saved by a *sannyāsin* whom he met later in Dacca. The *sannyāsin* was named Paramahamsa Nimananda who took him to Vindhyachal and later to Jañnaganja, an *āśrama* said to be in Tibet. Here Bholanath was initiated by Maharṣi Mahatapas and learnt *sūryavijñāna* from Pramahamsa and *syāmānanda* and *yoga* from Paramahamsa Bhṛgurāma. Bholanath came to be Paramahamsa Visuddhnanda. He was famous for his oft demonstrated miracles. The best known of these related to the creation of any desired fragrance in an object by concentrating sun beams on it through a lens. He came to be known as 'Gandha-baba'. With the help of sun's rays he often created any object named by his visitors. Kaviraj, Abhay Charan Sanyal, the chemist, Madhusudana Ojha, the famous scholar from Jaipur, Paul Brunton and numerous others were witnesses of this miracle of creation from sunlight. The *baba* attrituted it to *sūryavijñāna*. He used to say that creation is possible by the Solar Science as well as Yoga. All natural objects can be created by the combination of different kinds of sun's rays in a definite order. The lenses which the *baba* used were also of a special kind and were made of crystal or *sphaṭika*, and not glass.
4. Śrī Śrī Mā Ānandamayī has been one of the best known saints of northern India during this century. She is believed to have been

enlightened since birth and many have regarded her as a veritable incarnation. Kaviraj first met her in 1928. It was she who arranged for the treatment of Kaviraj's illness from cancer in 1961 and after the death of his wife in 1968 took care of him in her Āśrama at Bhadaini, Varanasi. Kaviraj declared that after his preceptor Viśuddhānanda, she was his greatest benefactor.

5. Kaviraj had been married at the age of thirteen to Kusuma Kāmini Devi and had two children, a daughter, Sudharāni, and a son Jitendranath. The daughter was married in Dacca but came to W. Bengal after the partition. The son died in about 1950 leaving behind a wife and three children. Kaviraj's daughter-in-law did not long survive her husband's death. His two granddaughters have been married and the grandson named Śaśiśekhara is engaged in service.

   The untimely loss of his only son was a sore trial but Kaviraj bore it with the fortitude born of imperturbable wisdom.

6. Although Kaviraj rarely travelled for pleasure and almost never accepted any invitations extended by academic or governmental bodies even when they sought to confer high honours on him, he did travel to meet saints and acquaint himself with supernormal phenomena when reported. He questioned the saints and mystics closely and kept a detailed record of the conversations and his experiences.

Chapter 2

1. It may be recalled that the very first question which Kaviraj asked of Śrī Śiva-Rāma Kiṅkara Yogatrayānanda on meeting him when he was still a student at Kasi was about the diversity of the views of the sages ("*Nāsau munir yasya mataṁ na bhinnam*"). Swami had replied that the 'opinions' (*matam*) of thinkers (*munis*) are bound to differ since they belong to the mental or intellectual level, but they seek to intimate truths which can be realised only intuitively (*guhāyām*)—(*Sādhu darśana evam sat-prasanga* (Hindi), vol. II, pp. 53 ff.)
2. *Princess of Wales Saraswati Bhawan Studies*, Vol. I (Pt. I) p. 29.
3. *Ibid.*, l.c.
4. *Ibid.* p. 30, fn where a reference is made to the Nyāyavārtika.
5. Cf. *Bhāmatī* (Varanasi, 1935), p. 2.—"*Nahyāgamāh sahasra'napighaṭam paṭayitum īṣate.*"
6. Cf. The famous adage "*Parīkṣya mad vaco grāhyam bhikṣavo na tu gauravāt.*"
7. *S.B.S*, (I), pp. 31-32
8. *Ibid.*, *l.c.*
9. *Ibid.*, p. 33
10. Kaviraj quotes, "*Na hi te munayo bhrāntāh sarvajñatvāt teṣām. Kintu bahirviṣaya-pravaṇānām āpātatah paramapuruṣārthe praveśo na*

bhavatīti nāstikya-nivāraṇāya taih prakāra-bhedāh nirūpitāh."

11. Cf. *Bodhicittavivaraṇa*
"*Deśanā lokanāthānām sattvāśayavasānugāḥ* /
Bhidyante bahudhā loka upāyairbahubhiḥ punaḥ //
Gambhīrottāna bhedena kacciccobhayalakṣaṇā /
Bhinnāpi deśanā bhinnā śūnyatādvaya-lakṣaṇā //

12. *E.g.*, *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya-sūtra* 8 :
"*Tad bhumikāḥ sarva-darśanastitayaḥ*".
Cf. *Atma-Tattvaviveka* (Chowkhamba, 1940), pp. 448 ff.

13. *S.B.S.* (I.) p. 34.
14. *Ibid.*, *l.c.*
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 40 ff.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 39. fn.
19. Vide Kaviraj's paper "The Problem of Causality : Sāṁkhya-Yoga View", collected in *Aspects of Indian Thought*, pp. 88 ff.
20. He reported that Paramahamsa Visuddhānanda could even demonstrate this.
21. H. Nakamura's *History of the Vedānta* in Japanese runs into four volumes. One volume has been published in English Translation as *History of the Early Vedānta*. Kaviraj's Introduction was for the Acyuta Granthamala edition of the *Śārīraka Bhāṣya* with *Ratnaprabhā* and Hindi traslation.
22. Phanibhushan Tarkavagisa's tr. and Bengali commentary on the *Nyāyasūtras* etc., entitled "*Nyāyadarśana*" in 5 vols.
23. Vide the author's *Bauddha Dharma ke Vikās ka Itihasa*.
24. Kaviraj *Introduction* cited above pp. 48-49 (translated from the Hindi original)
25. Kaviraj saw a reference to this in Ramana Maharṣi's ideas especially as reflected in the *Ramaṇa-Gita*.
26. Narahari, *Bodhasara*, quoted by Kaviraj, *Bhāratiya Sanskṛti aur Sādhana*, vol. I. p. 8: *Bhaktyartham Kalpitam dvaitam advaitādapi sāndaram*.
27. Thus Von Kramer, Dozy, Sylvestre de Sacy, etc. support Vedāntic influence on Sufism but Nicholson, Gibbe, etc., support Neoplatonism—Kaviraj, op. cit. vol. I. p. 17. In fact, one might go further and ask whether Indian influence can be ruled out of Neoplatonism itself. In this connection one must recall Aśokan missions in W. Asia.
28. *Aspects of Indian Thought*, pp. 145 ff.

Chapter 3

1. In a personal conversation with the author at the Bhadaini Āśrama, Varanasi in Nov. 1946.
2. The scholar concerned narrated this incident to the author shortly

after its occurrence. Since that scholar, leaving university service, withdrew himself from public gaze many years ago, his name is not being mentioned here.

3. Gopinath Kaviraj, *Bhāratiya Samskṛti aur Sādhana*, Vol. I. pp. 44 ff; *Ibid.*, pp. 45 ff; *Ibid.*, pp, 483 ff.
4. Matter has five forms, viz, *sthūla*, *svarūpa*, *sūkṣma*, *anvaya*, and *arthavattva*. The first is the form perceived by the senses. The next can be perceived only by logical abstraction. Thus configuration is the generic essence of the first element, wetness (*sneha*) of the second, heat of the third and so forth. It is worth pointing out that the specific properties noted above viz., sound, touch, colour, moisture and smell are evolved from, and are the peculiar manifestations of these generic essences. Every substance (*dravya*) existing in the world, in fact, substance itself is no more than a combination of these generic and specific qualities in a co-ordinated complex. The laws of collocation are extremely intricate, but they govern the entire field of cosmic action. . .The third or subtle form (*tanmātra*) of the elements is the *tanmatra*, of which the atomic substance with its generic and specific properties is a modification. The fourth form (*anvaya*) is the *guṇas* which follow the nature of the effect. The fifth aspect of an element is the pragmatic virtue (*arthavattva*) inherent in the *guṇas* in so far as the latter serve the ends of worldly experience or freedom.

   (Gopinath Kaviraj, *Aspects of Indian Thought*, p. 122).

   It may be added that since all the gross and subtle forms of matter are constituted out of the same pervasive (*anvaya*) elements of the (*guṇas*), the transformation of one substance into another is accepted as a scientific possibility by Sāṁkhya-Yoga and is known as *Jātyantara-pariṇāma*.
5. *Katha*, 1.1.26
6. *Br. Upa*, 2.4.2.
7. Kaviraj, *Bhāratiya Samskṛti aur Sādhana*, vol. I, "*Īsvara mein Viśvāsa*"
8. Rāmānuja, *Śrībhāṣya* ad. *Brahmasūtras*, 1.1.3
9. *Śivasūtras*, 1.13
10. Kaviraj, "Doctrine of *Pratibhā* in Indian Philosophy", *ABORI*, 1923-24

Chapter 4

1. *The Complete Works of Svami Vivekānanda*, Vol. VII, p. 428
2. Kaviraj, *Aspects of Indian Thought*, p. 113
3. *Ibid.*, p. 114

3a. *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, 1.1.8.

4. The author once asked Kaviraj whether he would agree with J.B. Pratt that mystical practices emphasising concentration on one point could well be an exercise inducing self-hypnosis. Kaviraj's answer

was that concentration by itself does not amount to *yoga*. *Dhāraṇā* is undoubtedly an accessary to *yoga* but it is so only when the mind of the subject is habitually one-pointed (*ekāgra-bhūmika-citta*), not otherwise. Any one may attain occasional concentration, which does not make him a Yogi. What is more, *yoga* is not simply concentration on an object but concentration followed by the detachment of consciousness from the object so that it becomes the witness of 'emptiness', a process which has to be repeated till the *mahāśūnya* is reached. *Yoga* proper begins only when the transcendence (*bheda*) of the *mahāśūnya* takes place through the descent of *citkalā*.

5. *Kaṭhopaniṣad*, 1-3.
6. *Bhagavad Gītā*, 3.42-43
7. Kaviraj, *Aspects of Indian Thought*, pp. 114-15.
8. *Yogasūtras*, "*Bhāvapratyayo videha-prakṛtilayānām*," (1.19)
9. Kaviraj, "Stages of *Yoga*" in *Aspects of Indian Thought*.

The first stage of *yoga* in which the senses are abstracted from their objects is really the purview of *Hatha Yoga* "as taught by Mārkaṇḍeya in ancient times and by Matsyendranātha and his band of followers (e.g., Gorakṣa, Jālandhara, Caturaṅgī, etc.) in the middle ages." The extroversion and activisation of the senses are caused by the operation of *vāyu* which is functionally identical with *vāsanā*. "It is the action of *vāyu* or *vāsanā* on the sensory mechanism of organic existence which projects before it a world of illusion." The discipline of the first stage removes this illusion, perfects the body and makes the mind strong, steadfast and capable of further *yoga*. Health, youth, strength, control over the senses, peace and repose are the common effects of this stage, although much larger benefits have been mentioned in older texts.

The second stage of mental culture comprises the whole of *samprajñāta yoga*, the stage of Illumination. As the common outer sense disappears, the mind is left in a state of concentration and illumination corresponding to its object. "The luminous substance of the mind, when immediately in contact with an object - the senses having ceased—interpenetrates into it and is imbued with its nature and form. The Self behind the mind now converted into the object as it were, shines on as a silent witness of the entire process of metamorphosis and of its result. It looks on as a transcendent observer towards the mind which having been largely purged, now appears in the form of the object concerned." The major hurdle in this stage is that "In case there is no outside object to determine the form of the luminous mind and even no subjective impression carried forth from the flesh left behind, the mind in the ordinary circumstances would sink into formlessness entailing an unconscious and a dark existence. It cannot retain its individuality—in fact, it finds no character of its own—when it is absolutely free. It gets overpowered under the weight of primitive matter from which it emerged as an essence to co-operate with the spirit in the work of spiritual

emancipation. "The solution to this riddle lies" in the revelation of the pseudo-eternal form of the light which stands fixed behind the subtle body." It has been called the celestial body (*divya-deha*) or the ideal body (*bhāva-deha*).

This second stage has been divided into four successive stages by Vyāsa in his commentary on the *Yoga-sutras*. These are "(a) the initial (*prathamakalpika*) period when the light has just set in (*pravṛttamātrajyotiḥ*). During this time the supernormal sense is evolved." Even as a mere practioner the *yogin* has glimpses of extraordinary phenomena such as clairvoyance, clairaudience, vision of past and future events, supernatural beings, etc. (b) The second period or *Madhumatī bhūmikā* is initiated by the dawn of *Ṛtambharā Prajñā* or the intuitive knowledge of Truth. The objective support of *samādhi* may be gross or subtle from the *tanmātra* to the ultimate *guṇas*. This is a period in which the *Yogi* is subject to temptations. (c) The third period, called *Prajñājyotiḥ* marks the fullest mastery of the elements and the senses—"a mastery which affords him (the *Yogi*) control over the forces of nature creative, preservative and destructive." The conquest of the five primordial elements gives rise to the eight great powers, viz. *aṇimā* (the power of becoming as minute as one pleases), *mahimā* (the power of becoming as big as one pleases), *laghimā* (the power of becoming as light as one pleases), *prāpti* (the power of reaching anything without the hindrance of distance), *prākāmya* (immunity from the generic properties of substances, e.g. one may sink into the earth as if it were water), *vaśitva* (mastery over the elements and their products, which makes, for example, the transmutation of substances possible), *iśitṛtva* (full command over the elements), *yatra kāmāvasāyitvā* (the supreme efficiency of the will).

Just like the five elements with their states (*sthūla*, *svarūpa*, *sūkṣma*, *anvaya* and *arthavattva*), the senses too have their five forms, the first being that of specific cognition (*grahaṇa*), the second being that of cognition in general (*karaṇatvasāmānya*), the third of being rooted in *Asmita*, the fourth and fifth of *anvaya* and *arthavattva* as in the case of *bhūta*—The *yogin* may conquer these forms of the senses also in this third stage and acquire *siddhis* like *manojavitva*.

(d) The highest stage called *viśokā* gives omniscience and universal mastery. It represents a God-like state. The *yogin*, however, realizes that these powers are foreign to his nature and moves to *vivekakhyāti* and through non-attachment to that to *nirodha* or *kaivalya*.

It should be noted that while Yoga gives powers, these are given only as the passions, desires, attachments and egoism have been shed. The question, therefore, of using these powers for particular ends does not arise except as a temptation in the earlier stages. The soul moves towards its goal of ultimate Loneliness through a world of glory but remains indifferent to it.

10. *Jñānaganja* is the technical name given to the supernatural world created by *yogic* effort for the transformation of the earth. It appears comparable in some respects to *Goloka* or *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* though with a different function and purpose.
11. Kaviraj distinguishes between *sādhaka* and *yogi*. The former reaches a non-transmigratory state through a process of purification and quiescence. The latter seeks also to build a supernatural body which will continue to be the basis of *yogic* action after death. The path of the *yogi* may be partial (*khaṇḍa*) or integral (*akhaṇḍa*). The former, again, may be partial to a smaller or greater degree as *Khaṇḍa-Yoga* or *Mahākhaṇḍa-Yoga*. A *Khaṇḍa-Yogi* seeks to transcend the *Cidākāśa* which is the goal of the *sādhaka*, and seeks the plane above it. A Mahākhaṇḍa Yogi's vision extends to the horizon of this plane where the real nature of the Mother may be glimpsed. In *Akhaṇḍa Yoga* the aim is to establish the relationship of the world with the trascendent Being, a task which is yet to be fully accomplished.

(vide Kaviraj, *Tāntrika Vanmaya mein Śakta Dṛṣṭi*)

Chapter 5

1. Kaviraj, *Tāntrika Sahitya*
2. *Pratyabhijñahṛdaya*, quoted Kaviraj, *Tāntrika Vanmaya mein Sakta Dṛṣṭi*, p. 4: Commenting on it Kṣemarāja states—"*Svatantra-śabdo brahmavāda-vailakṣanyamācakṣānscito māhesvarya-sarūpatām brūte.*"
3. Kaviraj, "*Sakta Philosophy*" in *History of Philosophy, Eastern and Western*, Vol. I.
4. *Śāradātilaka*, 1.7-8
5. Cf. *Kāmakalāvilāsa*
6. *Prayoga-Krama-dīpika*, quoted Kaviraj, op. cit.
7. Cf. *Pañcadaśī*, "*Vastu-tantram bhaved jñānam, Kartṛ-tantram upāsanam*|"

Chapter 6

1. Kaviraj, *Bhārtīya Samskṛti aur Sādhana*
2. Cf. G. C. Pande, *Meaning and Process of Culture, Aspects of Indian Culture and Civilization.*
3. Kaviraj, op. cit.
4. *Ibid.*

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Index of Technical Terms

Gopinath Kaviraj (1887-1976), on whom the title of Mahamahopadhyaya was conferred by the British Government in 1934, is regarded as an authority on Indological studies. Equally at home in English, Hindi, Sanskrit and Bengali and an unparalled combination of traditional and modern, India and Western learning and spiritual wisdom, he was among those renaissance figures who in the midst of colonial rule and its attendant denigration of Indian tradition helped to revive India's pride in her past and infuse it with the best tradition of British liberalism.

An insatiable thirst for knowledge coupled with an open and analytical mind led him to search for something new in the ancient Sanskrit texts and various commentaries on them. He wrote with a rare insight whether it was on Tantra, Philosophy, Religion or Culture. His biographies on saints and teachers, though religious and philosophic in content, have the flavour of real literature.

In this monograph, an attempt has been made to place some of his salient ideas in a historical perspective highlighting their contemporary relevance.

G.C. Pande (b. 1923), the author of this monograph, began his career in 1947 as a lecturer in Allahabad University. He was also Professor of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology at the University of Gorakhpur (1957-62) ; Tagore Professor of Indian Culture, Rajasthan University (1962-78) ; Visiting Professor at Banaras University (1984-85) ; Vice-Chancellor, Rajasthan University (1974-77) and finally retired as Vice-Chancellor of Allahabad University in 1984. Recipient of honours such as the *Vidyavaridhi* and *Samsthana-Sammana* Prof. Pande is also the author of numerous books and research papers.

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